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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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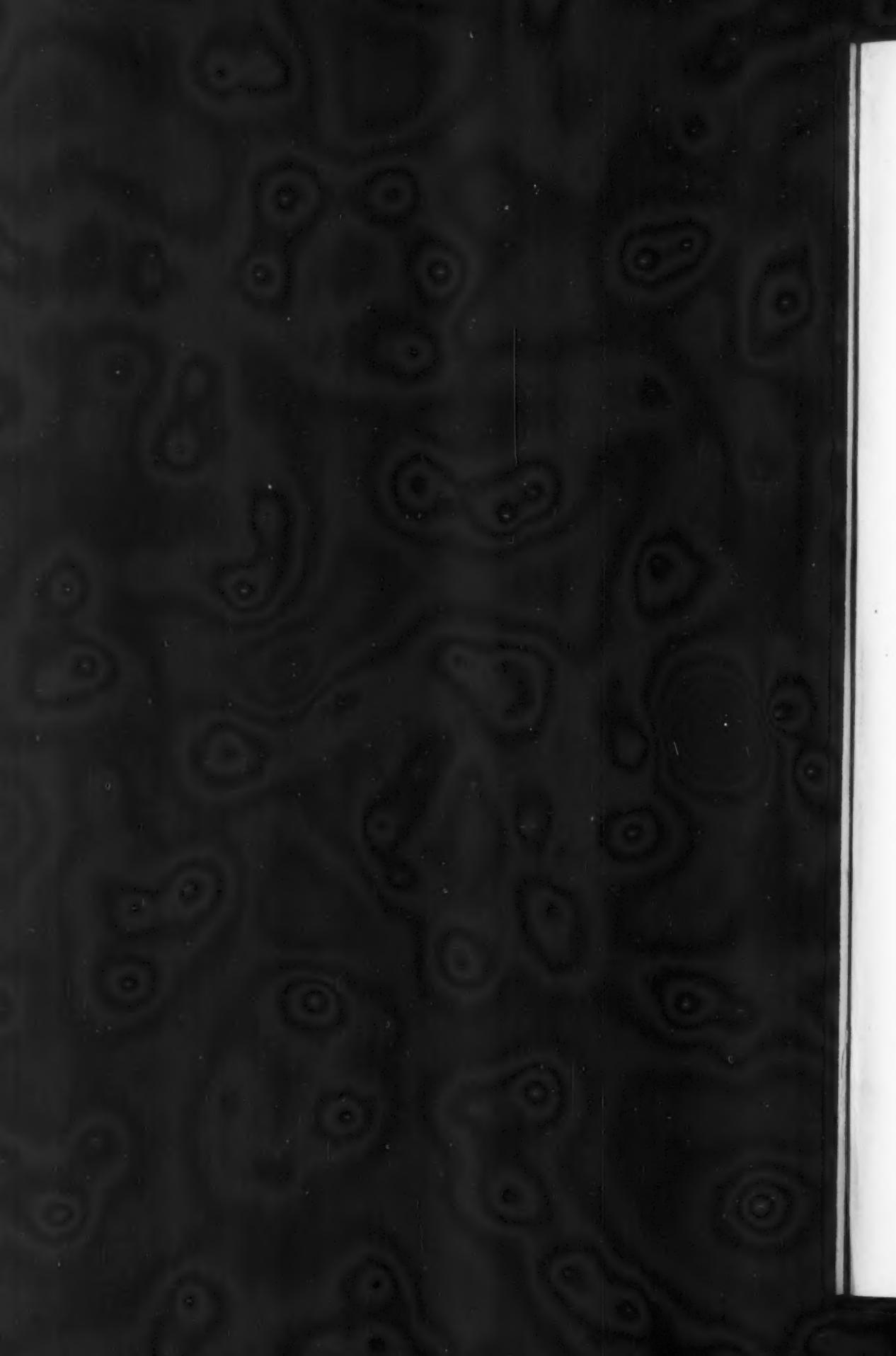
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ON THE MEANING OF 'ROMANTIC' IN EARLY GERMAN ROMANTICISM

PART I

It is generally agreed that the word 'romantie'—which still "über die ganze Welt geht und so viel Streit und Spaltungen verursacht"¹—was launched upon its tempestuous career through nineteenth century criticism and philosophy by Friedrich Schlegel. It was in the second number of the *Athenaeum* (1798) that he first proclaimed the supremacy of "die romantische Poesie," and thus converted the adjective—already a *Modewort* in some of its older uses²—into the designation of an aesthetic ideal and the catchword of a philosophical movement. But why was 'romantisch' the word chosen by "the new school" as the shibboleth of their sect? The question is of primary consequence for the general history of Romanticism. To understand the central ideas, the purpose and the program of the first of the many who have been called Romanticists, it is obviously needful to understand what

¹ Goethe to Eckermann, March 21, 1830. Goethe's own claim to have, with Schiller, originated this use of the word, or the idea which it expressed, will be touched upon below.

² Though instances of the use of the word in the seventeenth century can be cited, it came into fashion only after the middle of the eighteenth, chiefly, at least in its application to landscape, in consequence of the vogue of the translations of Thomson's *Seasons*. An interesting contribution to the earlier history of the word in Germany has been made by J. A. Walz, "Zum Sprachgebrauch des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Zs. f. d. Wortforschung*, XII (1910), 194. Upon the pre-Schlegelian vicissitudes of 'romantisch' I hope to offer some notes on another occasion.

there was in the meaning of this notoriously multivocal word that made it seem to them the most fitting to inscribe upon their banners.

The answer to this question which for nearly half a century has been the usual one was apparently first propounded by Haym. The key to the two Schlegels' use of the expression Haym sought in a correlation of the celebrated *Fragment*³ in which "die romantische Poesie" is dithyrambically defined, with Friedrich's essay on *Wilhelm Meister* in the same number of the *Athenæum*. The program of the æsthetic revolution which the young enthusiasts proposed to carry out was, Haym declares, inspired and shaped chiefly by their admiration for the models lately set by Goethe; and for Friedrich, Goethe's masterpiece was *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*. His first acquaintance with this novel was to him the revelation of a new poetic *genre*, comprehending and transcending all others. Consequently Schlegel,

"immer bereit zu neuen Konstruktionen und neuen Formeln, schöpft aus dem *Wilhelm Meister* die Lehre, dass der echte Roman ein *non plus ultra*, eine Summe alles Poetischen sei, und er bezeichnet folgerecht dieses poetische Ideal mit dem Namen der 'romantischen' Dichtung."⁴

According to this explanation, therefore, 'romantisch' was to Schlegel equivalent in meaning to 'romanartig'; it at the same time involved a special reference to Goethe's novel as the archetype of all *Romane*; the adoption of it as the designation of the 'poetisches Maximum' implied the thesis of the superiority of the *Roman* over all other *genres*; and it was from the characteristics of *Meister* that the general notion of 'the Romantic,' at least as an æsthetic category, was derived.⁵

This account of the matter has since 1870 been repeated by many writers, and appears still to be one of the common-places of the manuals of German literature, of the encyclopaedias, and even of monographs on Romanticism. Thus Thomas writes: "By a juggle of words *Romanpoesie* became *romantische Poesie*, and Schlegel proceeded to define 'romantic' as an ideal of perfection, having

³ No. 116 in Minor's numbering: *Fr. Schlegel 1794-1802*, herein referred to as *Jugendschriften*.

⁴ Haym, *Die romantische Schule*, 1870, p. 251.

⁵ The other principal source of Romanticism Haym found in Fichte's philosophy; the movement he describes as essentially a combination of *Goethianismus* and *Fichtianismus*.

first abstracted it from the unromantic *Wilhelm Meister*.⁶ Similarly Porterfield in his *German Romanticism* (1914, p. 44): Fr. Schlegel "went to Jena in 1796, where he worked out the theory of Romanticism from Goethe's 'Wilhelm Meister'."⁷ Other recent writers who apparently adopt Haym's view of the importance, in the genesis of Romanticism, of the conception *Roman* and of the model presented in *Meister* are Kircher,⁸ Scholl,⁹ and Schiele.¹⁰ Marie Joachimi summarily rejects Haym's explanation of 'romantic,' but does not offer any examination of his arguments nor any inductive study of Fr. Schlegel's use of the term.¹¹ Walzel's admirable *Deutsche Romantik* (1908) does not discuss the question directly, though it would seem to be inferable from the general account of the origins of the Romantic ideas given in this volume and in the earlier introduction to *Goethe und die Romantik*,¹² that Walzel does not accept Haym's theory. The question of the origin and original sense of the term is likewise left undiscussed in Enders's recent work on Friedrich Schlegel (1913). It is pertinent to the theme of this paper to note also that the authors of at least two recent treatises on Romanticism expressly deny the supposition, prevalent before the publication of Haym's monumental work, that Fr. Schlegel's use of 'romantisch' is to be understood in the light of the antithesis 'classical-romantic.' Thus Kircher: "Es ist der grosse Irrtum, die Antithese des Klassischen und Romantischen in den Mittelpunkt der Schlegelschen Theorie zu stellen. Nie und nirgends ist sie von Fr. Schlegel ausgesprochen worden."¹³

It is the purpose of the present study to attempt an *Auseinandersetzung* with the still prevalent account of the source and original meaning of the term 'romantic' (in its use in the *Frühromantik*) and of the sources and content of the æsthetic and philosophical ideas for which the word stood. Incidentally, the tenability of the last-quoted negations will, I trust, have a good deal of light

⁶ *German Literature* (1909), 332.

⁷ *Phil. der Romantik* (1906), 163.

⁸ "Fr. Schlegel and Goethe" in *PMLA*, xxi (1906), 128-132.

⁹ *Schleiermacher's Monologen* (1914), xxvii.

¹⁰ *Die Weltanschauung der Romantik* (1905), 118.

¹¹ Schütdekopf-Walzel in *Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft*, 13 (1898).

¹² *Phil. der Romantik*, 152. Ricarda Huch has expressed a similar view (*Blütezeit der Romantik*, 5th ed., 52).

thrown upon it. What is, for the purpose in hand, necessary first of all is a consideration of the two writings of Schlegel's upon which Haym chiefly based his interpretation.

The *Meister-Aufsatz*, by itself, has nothing whatever to say, expressly or by any clear implication,¹³ concerning the meaning of the term "romantische Poesie." True it is that Schlegel therein speaks of Goethe's novel with ardent enthusiasm, that he finds in it many of the traits elsewhere enumerated among the characteristics of 'romantic' poetry, that he sees in it the dawn of a new day in German, and even in European, literature. All this, however, falls far short of a proof of the equation: "romantische Poesie" = "Romanpoesie" = writings possessed of the qualities of *Wilhelm Meister*. But it can not be denied that *Fragment* 116—the one beginning: "die romantische Poesie ist eine progressive Universalpoesie"—reads as if it meant by "romantische Poesie" simply "der Roman" as a *genre*. For it speaks of the type of "poetry" which it defines, as a "Form" or "Dichtart," distinct from other recognized *genres*. In the following sentence, in particular, the identification of "die romantische Poesie" with the novel seems almost explicit: "Es giebt keine Form, die so dazu gemacht wäre, den Geist des Autors vollständig auszudrücken: so dass manche Künstler, die nur auch einen Roman schreiben wollten, von ungefähr sich selbst dargestellt haben." There are also in other *Fragment*s some indications of a disposition to assign an especially typical significance to the *Roman* in general, as a characteristically modern and a peculiarly adequate vehicle of self-expression; *e. g.*, *Lyc.-Fgm.* 78:

"Mancher der vortrefflichsten Romane ist ein Compendium, eine Encyclopädie des ganzen geistigen Lebens eines genialischen Individuums; Werke die das sind, selbst in ganz andrer Form, wie der Nathan, bekommen dadurch einen Anstrich vom Roman."

And in *Ath.-Fgm.* 146, Friedrich Schlegel remarks that all modern poetry "has a tinge" of the character of the *Roman*.

Yet if this be the derivation and original meaning, for the *Romantiker*, of "romantische Poesie," one is confronted with an odd and incongruous fact: namely, that none of their subsequent

¹³ The adjective occurs three times in a colloquial but vague sense, without reference to any special type or tendency in the history of literature—and therefore without pertinency to the question dealt with in this paper.

explanations of the term betray any knowledge of this meaning, or are in the least reconcilable with it. Only two years later (1800) in the *Gespräch über die Poesie* contained in the third volume of the *Athenaeum*, Fr. Schlegel puts into the mouth of one of the interlocutors of his dialogue an entirely plain account of what the word meant for him, from what it was derived, and in what authors the qualities supposed to be connoted by it were supremely exemplified:

“Ich habe ein bestimmtes Merkmal des Gegensatzes zwischen dem Antiken und dem Romantischen aufgestellt. Indessen bitte ich Sie doch, nun nicht sogleich anzunehmen, dass mir das Romantische und das Moderne völlig gleich gelte.”

There are, that is, modern poems which are not romantic, *e. g.*, *Emilia Galotti*, which is “so unaussprechlich modern und doch im geringsten nicht romantisch.” To know what is truly romantic one must turn to Shakespeare,

“in den ich das eigentliche Centrum, den Kern der romantischen Fantasie setzen möchte. Da suche und finde ich das Romantische, bey den ältern Modernen, bey Shakespeare, Cervantes, in der italienischen Poesie, in jenem Zeitalter der Ritter, der Liebe und der Märchen, aus welchem die Sache und das Wort selbst herstammt. Dieses ist bis jetzt das einzige was einen Gegensatz zu den klassischen Dichtungen des Alterthums abgeben kann.”¹⁴

The dialogue also, it is true, “defines” a “Roman” (by which is meant, a *good* “Roman”) as “ein romantisches Buch”; but it by no means affirms the converse of this definition. On the contrary, “das Drama so gründlich und historisch wie es Shakespeare z. B. nimmt und behandelt, ist die wahre Grundlage des Romans.” Nor

¹⁴ *Athenaeum*, III, 122-3. Cf. id., 121: “das Eigenthümliche der Tendenz der romantischen Dichtkunst im Gegensatz der antiken;” 79, “es gelang dem Guarini, im Pastorfido, den romantischen Geist und die classische Bildung zur schönsten Harmonie zu verschmelzen.” There are, it should be added, half a dozen instances of “romantisch” in the dialogue in which the word refers, not to a class of literature, but to a quality or spirit supposed to be characteristic of that class. *E. g.*, 83: “Spenser gab seinem (Shakespeare’s) neuen romantischen Schwunge Nahrung”; “diese Ausbildung hauchte allen seinen Dramen den romantischen Geist ein, . . . und sie zu einer romantischen Grundlage des modernen Dramas constituirt, die dauerhaft genug ist für ewige Zeiten”; 107: “Jedes Gedicht soll eigentlich romantisch und jedes soll didaktisch seyn.” This use is, of course, entirely in keeping with the definition cited above; the romantic spirit is a somewhat which is “eigentümlich modern.”

is anything of the nature of a narration or "history" essential to a romantic work: "Ein Lied eben so gut romantisch sein kann als eine Geschichte."¹⁵

It is, indeed, true that one of the interlocutors in the dialogue reads an essay *Ueber den verschiedenen Styl in Goethe's früheren und späteren Werken*, in which *Wilhelm Meister* is even more highly praised than in Schlegel's essay of two years earlier. But the use of the word "romantisch" in this essay is significant. Goethe is *not* spoken of as the typical representative of romantic poetry; his greatness is regarded by the imaginary author of the essay as consisting rather in his having accomplished "the ultimate task of all poetry," namely, "die Harmonie des Classischen und des Romantischen." Everywhere in *Meister* "der antike Geist" is evident behind the modern envelope. "Die beyden künstlichsten und verstandvollsten Kunstwerke im ganzen Gebiet der romantischen Kunst" are Hamlet and Don Quixote; it is "they alone which admit of a comparison with Goethe's universality." Here Goethe seemingly outranks his great precursors; but he is at the same time placed outside the "Gebiet der romantischen Kunst." And it is important to remember that, in the course of the discussion, this enthusiastic glorification of Goethe is somewhat severely handled by the other interlocutors. Antonio complains that "die Urtheile darin etwas zu imperatorisch ausgedrückt sind. Es könnte doch seyn, dass noch Leute hinter dem Berge wohnten, die von einem und dem andern eine durchaus andre Ansicht hätten."¹⁶ More-

¹⁵ Schlegel's "Antonio" in his *Brief über den Roman* (*Ath.*, III, 123). In the version of the *Gespräch über die Poesie* which appears in the collected works of Schlegel, there is added, as a sort of conclusion of the whole matter, a long speech by another interlocutor, Lothario, which places the *genre* to which both the novel and the drama belong upon a lower plane than the epic, "der einer tieferen Naturquelle entspringt und . . . die Seele der Poesie ist," and ascribes the highest rank of all to lyrical poetry, especially the religious lyric (*Werke*, 1846, v, 240). Since this passage does not appear in the original *Athenaeum* text, it cannot be cited as evidence for the ideas of the early Romantic school.

¹⁶ In the text of the dialogue in the Collected Works this comment reads: "Es könnte doch seyn, dass in andern, uns noch entfernten Regionen der unermesslichen Kunstwelt, diese neue Kunstsonne welche Sie uns aufgestellt haben, von jenen fernen Planetenbewohnern, ganz anders angesehen würde, und ihnen in einem andern minder stark glänzenden Lichte erschiene" (v, 236).

over, most of the participants in the dialogue point out that precisely that "unification of the ancient and the modern" for which Goethe had been chiefly eulogized, is a thing intrinsically impossible of achievement. Certainly in their metrical forms, urges one speaker, ancient and modern poetry remain forever opposed; there is no *tertium quid* in which the aesthetic values of the one form and of the other can be combined. Nor, adds another speaker, can the qualities of ancient and modern diction coexist. And, observes a third, in the all-important matter of the "Behandlung der Charaktere und Leidenschaften" the methods and aims of ancient and modern poetry are "absolutely different" and uncombinable. In the former, the characters are "idealisch gedacht, und plastisch ausgeführt, wie die alten Götterbilder"; in the moderns, on the contrary, "ist der Charakter entweder wirklich geschichtlich, oder doch so construirt, als ob er es wäre; die Ausführung hingegen ist mehr mahlerisch individuell, nach Art der sprechenden Ähnlichkeit im Porträt." Finally, Lothario plainly declares that no tragic poet can serve two masters, can be strictly classical and typically romantic at once. The reason why the subject-matter of "ancient" tragedies, or of modern imitations of them, must be mythological, not historical, is because we now demand in the case of an historical theme "die moderne Behandlungsart der Charaktere, welche dem Geist des Alterthums schlechthän widerspricht. Der Künstler würde da auf eine oder die andre Art gegen die alte Tragödie oder gegen die romantische den kürzern ziehen müssen."¹⁷

Schlegel's explanations of the meaning of 'romantisch,' as an historico-critical term, in the *Gespräch über die Poesie* are, of course, duly noted by Haym, when in the course of his treatise he comes to deal with that writing. Their incompatibility with the earlier explanation based upon *Fragment 116* in the first volume of the *Athenaeum* is recognized by him.¹⁸ These explanations in

¹⁷ *Ath.*, III, 186-187. It is an odd commentary upon the supposed derivation of the idea of "romantische Poesie" from *Wilhelm Meister*, that early in 1799 we find Fr. Schlegel welcoming Tieck's *Sternbalds Wanderungen* (1798) as "der erste Roman seit Cervantes, der romantisch ist, und darüber weit über Meister" (*Briefe an seinen Bruder*, 414).

¹⁸ Haym had, however, in his original presentation of this explanation quite unjustifiably claimed for it the sanction of Schlegel's usage in this dialogue: "Der Schlüssel zum Verständniss liegt in erster Linie darin, dass romantische Poesie einfach für Romanpoesie gesetzt ist. . . . Der

1800 Haym is compelled to regard as a revision of Fr. Schlegel's earlier conception of "romantische Poesie." "Formerly Schlegel had, it is true, derived this conception, at least in the main, from the *Roman*; now, while the same derivation is still fundamental, he emphasizes more strongly than before the historical relations of the conception."¹⁹ And by the time of A. W. Schlegel's Berlin lectures (1801-1804) the change to a "new and more difficult conception of the Romantic has become entirely explicit (ganz herausgerückt)."²⁰

What I wish to show is that this supposed later sense of "romantische Poesie" is in reality the primary one; that *Ath.-Fgm.* 116, in so far it uses the term in the sense of "Romanpoesie" or merely "Roman," is a momentary and misleading aberration from an all but constant usage, before, during and after 1798; and that Haym's emphasis upon the *Roman* in general, and upon *Wilhelm Meister* in particular, as the source from which Schlegel drew the idea of 'romantic poetry,' throws the history of the genesis of Romanticism very seriously out of perspective.

Haym himself has noted that Schlegel occasionally, especially in his earliest publication, uses the word "romantisch" with reference to "das epische Rittergedicht," and also with the meaning of 'medieval and early modern poetry in general.'²¹ Examples of

gleiche Sprachgebrauch herrscht ganz unzweifelhaft in Schlegel's späterem 'Gespräch über die Poesie.'"²² (*Die rom. Schule*, 252.)

¹⁹ *Die rom. Schule*, 688-9.

²⁰ Op. cit. 803. The elder Schlegel's explanations of the term in these lectures are here duly summarized by Haym; but it is perhaps worth while to recall two of the most significant passages. In the introduction to his third series Wilhelm Schlegel declares that he hopes speedily to remove any doubt "ob es denn wirklich eine romantische, d. h. eigenthümlich moderne, nicht nach den Mustern des Alterthums gebildete Poesie gebe." And the employment of the adjective "romantisch" to express this idea is justified as follows: "Ich will hier bemerken, dass der Name *romantische* Poesie auch in dieser historischen Rücksicht treffend gewählt sey. Denn Romanisch, *Romance*, nannte man die neuen aus der Vermischung des Lateinischen mit der Sprache der Eroberer entstandnen Dialekte; daher Romane, die darin geschriebnen Dichtungen, woher denn romantisch abgeleitet ist, und ist der Charakter dieser Poesie Verschmelzung des altdeutschen mit dem späteren, d. h. christlich gewordnen Römischen, so werden auch ihre Elemente schon durch den Namen angedeutet." (*Vorlesungen über schöne Litt. u. Kunst*, ed. by Minor, 1884, III, 7 and 17.

²¹ Haym, 251 and note.

these uses, however, are far more numerous in all periods than Haym indicates. Some additional examples are worth citing.

On February 27, 1794, Friedrich writes to his brother that the problem of the poetry of their age seems to him to be that of "die Vereinigung des Wesentlich-Modernen mit dem Wesentlich-An-tiken"; and adds by way of explanation:

"Wenn Du den Geist des Dante, vielleicht auch des Shakespear erforschest und lehrest, so wird es leichter seyn, dasjenige was ich vorhin das *Wesentlich-Moderne* nannte, und was ich vorzüglich in diesen beyden Dichtern finde, kennen zu lernen. Wie viel würde dazu auch die Geschichte der romantischen Poesie beytragen, zu der du einmal den Plan fasstest?—Die Geschichte des neuern Dramas und des Romans wäre dann vielleicht nicht so schwer."²²

With the problem which here preoccupies the younger brother we are not, for the moment, concerned. Suffice it here to note that a "history of romantic poetry" would apparently (though the language is not unequivocal) deal with Shakespeare and Dante, and clearly would *not* include the more recent drama and the novel; and that the conceptions of "romantic" poetry and of "the essentially modern" are already closely united in Schlegel's mind.

In the essay *Ueber das Studium der griechischen Poesie* (1794-5) the term "romantische Poesie" constantly occurs, sometimes as a designation for the romances of chivalry, sometimes with the broader meaning already noted, of 'medieval and early modern literature.' It is perhaps in the former sense that Schlegel uses the expression when, in justification of his assertion that Shakespeare is "the most complete and most characteristic representative of the spirit of modern poetry," he writes:

"In ihm vereinigen sich die reizendsten Blüthen der Romantischen Phantasie, die gigantische Grösse der gothischen Heldenzeit, mit den feinsten Zügen moderner Geselligkeit," usw.²³

The broader sense, however, appears to be intended in the passage in which Schlegel, lamenting the literary degeneracy of later ages, asks:

"Was ist die Poesie der späteren Zeit als ein Chaos aus dürftigen Fragmenten der romantischen Poesie? . . . So flickten Barbaren

²² Walzel, *Fr. Schlegels Briefe an seinen Bruder*, 170. This contemplated "History of Romantic Poetry" is again referred to in a letter of Dec. 7, 1794.

²³ Minor, *Jugendschriften*, I, 107.

aus schönen Fragmenten einer bessern Welt Gothiche Gebäude zusammen.”²⁴

In February of 1798—*i. e.*, almost at the moment of the composition of the essay on *Meister* and the *Fragmente* in the *Athenæum*, Friedrich proposed to his brother that they should write jointly a series of “Letters on Shakespeare,” which should include, among other things, “eine Charakteristik aller romantischen Komödien,” “eine Theorie der romantischen Komödien, mit Vergleichung von Shakespeare’s Nebenmänner, Gozzi, die Spanier, Guarini, etc.”; and a “Charakteristik des romantischen Witzes, mit Rücksicht auf Ariost und Cervantes.” Examples of a similar use in the *Gespräch über die Poesie* have already been cited. In the second volume of the *Athenæum* (II, 324) Schlegel, speaking of the lack of a good German translation of *Don Quixote*, writes: “Ein Dichter und vertrauter Freund der alten romantischen Poesie, wie Tieck muss es seyn, der diesen Mangel ersetzen will.” Instances of the same general sense in writings of Fr. Schlegel after the *Athenæum* period are frequent: *e. g.*, in the essay on *Boccaccio*, 1801, he speaks of “die ursprüngliche Fabel von Florio und Blanchefleure” as “eine romantische Dichtung,” and comments on “die kindliche Einfalt des romantischen Mährchens.”²⁵ In the edition of Schlegel’s collected works prepared for publication by himself he brings together, under the designation of “Beyträge zur romantischen Dichtkunst,” four essays, dealing with *Boccaccio*, with *Camoens*, and other early Portuguese and Spanish and Italian

²⁴ Minor, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Other examples of ‘romantisch’ in the same essay are: “Die Phantasterey der romantischen Poesie”; “die moderne Ritter der romantischen Poesie”; Ariosto und “andre scherhaft romantischen Dichter”; “der Fantasie-Zauber der romantischen Sage und Dichtung”; “jene seltsame Muse der romantischen Spiele und Rittermährchen”; “die fantastische Gestalten der romantischen Dichtkunst”; “Wieland’s romantische Gedichte”; “Tasso hat sich von der romantischen Manier nicht weit entfernt”; “Versuche, die romantische Fabel oder die christliche Legende in einen idealischen schönen Mythus zu metamorphosiren.” Schlegel once speaks of “das Romantische Gedicht der Griechischen und Römischen Epopöe,” in a passage in which he is bringing out the similarity between the Homeric epic and the romances of chivalry. Of ‘romantisch’ in the sense ‘romanartig’ there seems, besides *Ath.-Fgm.* 116, to be only one (probable) example: *Lyc.-Fgm.* 49.

²⁵ *Werke*, 1864, VIII, 13.

poets, with "Northern Poetry" (Ossian, the Edda, the Nibelungenlied, etc.), and with Shakespeare.

Thus the adjective "romantisch," as applied to classes or bodies of literature or to individual writings was in habitual use by Fr. Schlegel throughout the seventeen-nineties, and subsequently, as an ordinary historical epithet. When, therefore, he rhapsodized over "romantische Poesie" in the best known of the *Athenæumsfragmente*, he was not coining a new term, nor even employing one unusual in his circle. If—as I do not deny—Haym's interpretation of this *Fragment* is correct, Schlegel was there using the word in a very unusual and paradoxical sense. *Romantische Poesie* as equivalent to *Romanpoesie*, or *der Roman*, is almost a $\alpha\pi\alpha\xi\lambda\epsilon\gamma\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\sigma$, incongruous even with the senses of the word in other *Athenæumsfragmente*. When Shakespeare's universality is said to be "der Mittelpunkt der romantischen Kunst," it is manifest that *romantisch* can not refer to a *genre* of which Shakespeare offers no examples. When it is declared that "aus dem romantischen Gesichtspunkt," the very *Abarten* of poetry, even the eccentric and the monstrous, have their value as aids to universality ("provided only they be original"), it seems improbable that nothing more than the 'novelistic' point of view is meant.

It is, in any case, evident that in the *Athenæum*, and thereafter, *romantisch*, as a term of literary criticism, no longer merely *denotes* either a certain class of writings or a certain period of the history of literature. The word is now all compact of æsthetic and philosophical connotations. There is now, as we have seen, not only a body of poetry which is called *romantisch*, but also *ein romantischer Gesichtspunkt*. The essential question, then, is: From what more concrete sense did this larger, philosophical meaning of the term *romantische Poesie* develop? Haym's interpretation implies that it was derived primarily from reflection upon the nature of the *Roman* as a *genre*, and above all from a generalization of the æsthetic qualities illustrated, and the æsthetic principles inculcated, in Goethe's *Roman*. This view will, in the second part of this study, be shown to be erroneous. I shall there endeavor to prove that the conception of Romantic art was virtually completely formulated by Fr. Schlegel *before* his acquaintance with *Wilhelm Meister*, and before his own conversion to the "romantic point of view"; that this conversion, moreover, was probably not due to

the influence of Goethe, but partly to other external influences and partly to the 'immanent logic' of his own earlier aesthetic principles; and that, therefore, the emphasis upon *Fgm.* 116 and upon the relation of the meaning of *romantisch* to the *Roman* and to *Meister* (for which Haym is chiefly responsible) tends to obscure the real origins both of the name, and (which is much more important) of the idea, of 'the Romantic,' in its aesthetic and philosophical signification.

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SHAKESPEARE AND GRILLPARZER

Just one week after I had sent my doctor's dissertation off to be printed and while I was filled with the good bourgeois sentiment of being thrice happy at seeing my labors well begun, there arrived the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* for 1915 containing a very interesting essay, "Grillparzers Verhältnis zu Shakespeare," by Dr. Edgar Gross. My work will not be printed, for, altho richer in illustrations, it contains very little that Dr. Gross has not stated better in his article. The spirit and the essence of both are exactly the same.

It is surprising how very similar the two dissertations are even down to the phrasing of certain ideas. For example, I pointed out the irony which lay in the fact that Grillparzer, a most subjective poet, should be expressing great surprise at the fact that men of fine taste like Voltaire or Byron did not recognize the full beauty of Shakespeare. In this connection I used a phrase which I thought of as a product of my present study of Kant; I said that Grillparzer was trying to find the "Shakespeare an sich." Gross says on page 3: "Er wollte zu der Poesie an sich gelangen." A few lines below this we read that according to his standard of "absolute poetry" Grillparzer selected his literary favorites, whose number, owing to the high demands made on them, was very small, but therefor all the more faithful companions thruout the course of his long and lonesome life. I had selected as the title of my thesis, "Grillparzer's Lifelong Friend, Shakespeare." In both dissertations Schreyvogel is mentioned as the one who opened Grillparzer's eyes to a complete understanding of Shakespeare's greatness.

Dr. Gross tells the story of this lifelong friendship as we find it told in Grillparzer's autobiography and other sources, beginning in the library of his father, where the nine-year-old boy found *Hamlet* and *King Lear*, to the time when a few months before his death the aged poet discusses with a friend *Othello*, which he had read about sixty times. Wherever and whenever opportunity offered, in Vienna, in Stuttgart on a visit to Tieck, in London, and even in Greece, Grillparzer witnessed performances and readings of Shakespeare and discussed them in his diary.

About the time when Grabbe wrote his *Shakespearomanie*, and also later, Grillparzer turned with the bitterest of satire on critics like Schlegel, Tieck, Gervinus, and others. The poet Grillparzer had a much deeper understanding for the tragedies of Shakespeare than these men of whom he said sarcastically that they pretended to read in Shakespeare's breast what he had really intended to say. Often it seems that what Grillparzer says about Shakespeare's characters is a chapter from his own life, for example, what he writes about Hamlet and Ophelia at the time of the crisis in his affair with Kathi Fröhlich. All of these short criticisms the poet wrote not for publication, but merely to clarify his own ideas. They are not written in any one volume but on any scrap of paper that he found at hand. After his death they were collected and ordered by the men who compiled his complete works. Dr. Gross gives all the essential points of Grillparzer's Shakespeare criticisms which covered a period of over fifty years.

In the chapter dealing with Shakespeare's influence on Grillparzer's works Dr. Gross makes a sharp differentiation, just as I found it to be the case, between the fragments of his youthful period and his later dramas. In the former the influence of Shakespeare is sometimes found in literal translations: "Schüttle deine blutigen Locken nicht nach mir," one of Grillparzer's kings, sketched after Macbeth, is made to exclaim. The lover and his friend in *Spartacus* have very direct prototypes in *Romeo and Juliet*, while the language employed echoes many poetical images from Shakespeare's Song of Songs of love. The nurse with her lengthy babblings, her pandering, her love for her charge, is copied directly from Shakespeare, but I miss in Gross the mention of one characteristic in which the later development of Grillparzer can be plainly seen: the moralizing of the nurse. Just as in the other fragment of this period, *Der Sommernachtstraum*, we find Grillparzer still in

the clutches of a rather "hausbackene Moral," far from the free heights of the Renaissance poet to which, however, he rises in his masterpieces, for example, in *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*. The Shakespearean heroes who attract him chiefly at this period are Romeo, Percy Hotspur, Falstaff, and villain-heroes like Macbeth and Richard III. The imitation is often quite slavish. Because Percy's wife threatens, "Wilt thou have thy head broke?" the peasant girl in *Alfred der Grosse* fetches a huge club to beat the hero who is also in many other respects like Hotspur.

But all this is changed in Grillparzer's master plays. The tyro has himself become a master in the field of the world-drama. No longer do we find any direct borrowings, but the influence of Shakespeare has become spiritual. A problem, a character, a mood, or a scene offer suggestions to Grillparzer in the creation of his independent plays, but they are no longer his models. Here we can never be quite certain that we find the fruits of Shakespeare's influence, because Grillparzer is now himself a past-master, and might have come by all his splendid creations independently. Dr. Gross shows the same restraint from definite assertions in this chapter which I considered to be necessary toward presenting the true state of affairs.

The example which I considered the best in showing just how Grillparzer in his later dramas filled with a larger meaning suggestions from Shakespeare is not found in the German essay. Many critics have pointed out that Grillparzer's *Rudolf II* has many of Hamlet's characteristics. It is one of the tragic incidents in Hamlet's career of indecision that at one time he rouses himself to a sudden decisive action and kills "that wretched, rash, intruding fool Polonius." Grillparzer presents a similar situation in *Ein Bruderzwist in Habsburg*, but by how much did he not intensify and deepen the tragic content! *Rudolf II* in a time out of joint finds it impossible to rise to any decisive action. He has a natural son, Don Cäsar, who while manifesting some of the same wanton characteristics which his father showed in his youth, becomes guilty of slaying a young girl. Don Cäsar in prison tears the bandage off his wrist thus committing himself to certain death, unless a physician comes to his rescue immediately. While the emperor's friend Julius intercedes for the young criminal Rudolf suddenly casts the key to the prison into the deep well in the courtyard with the words:

Er ist gerichtet,
 Von mir, von seinem Kaiser, seinem . . .
 (mit zitternder, von Weinen erstickter Stimme)
 Herrn!

What he intended to say was, "Seinem Vater." Julius says of the emperor after the latter has staggered out of the room:

O, dass er doch mit gleicher Festigkeit
 Das Unrecht ausgetilgt in seinem Staat,
 Als er es austilgt nun in seinem Hause.

Very good, too, are Dr. Gross' remarks about the tragic in Grillparzer's dramas. We find a development from conflicts like those found in Schiller's dramas between the individual and the moral law to great world-tragedies which transcend those of Shakespeare —only we must regret that Dr. Gross seems never to have heard of the book which deals expressly with this problem, *Grillparzer und das neue Drama*, by O. E. Lessing. Does the German feel in duty bound "Amerika totzuschweigen"?

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THREE CHARACTERS BY HENRY MOLLE

No one has yet attempted a detailed bibliography of English character-writings. The chief character-books are familiar enough; but scattered through the most diverse volumes of the seventeenth century are to be found specimens of character-writing that are either neglected or entirely unknown, though many of them are witty, well drawn, and throw light on the customs, manners, and thought of their times. For example, Morley has noticed that at the end of the over-long satire, *Naps on Parnassus*, 1658, are "two Satirical Characters of a Temporizer and an Antiquary." In *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex*, 1696, are to be found "A Pedant, A Country Squire, A Bully, A Scowrer, A Beau, A Poetaster, A Coffee-house Politician, A Vertuoso, A City Critick."

Ms. Rawl. Poet. 246 ff. 48-9, of the Bodleian Library, contains the three following characters. So far as I can ascertain, they have not been printed. They are signed Henry Molle. He was a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, who took his A. B. in 1617 and his A. M. in 1620. In 1639 he was made Public Orator, fol-

lowing R. Creyghton of Trinity, who in turn succeeded George Herbert, the poet, in that position. There is a brief mention of Molle in *King's College* by the Rev. A. Austen Leigh, London, 1899. "When after the King's death the Republic was proclaimed, and the members of the College were required to take the engagement of Oct. 12, 1649, that they would be true to the new constitution without a King or House of Lords, a considerable number of Fellows either resigned or were ejected, among them Henry Molle, the Public Orator, who lost both office and Fellowship together" (pp. 131-2).

Molle's brief sketches speak for themselves. Sturbridge Fair is interesting because that well known place of amusement was probably the original of Bunyan's Vanity Fair. (See *John Bunyan: His Life, Times and Works*, by John Brown, Boston, 1885, p. 279). At the end of these three characters is another, entitled "The Night-mare." It is nothing more or less than Shakespeare's description of Queen Mab, *Romeo and Juliet*, I, iv, 53-94. At least one reader of the play believed that Shakespeare in this famous passage was simply trying his hand at a popular form of writing.

These characters are printed with the original spelling and punctuation. The contractions, it will be noticed, have not been given except in next to the last sentence of "A Rambler" where the meaning of the abbreviation is obscure.

The Author of the three following Characters

Is one that is ill sighted and looks asquint on the world, and like an ape on a tradesmans stall, mocks and makes mows at all that passe by him. Nature and his Education like kind Parents have bestow'd an indifferent portion of witt on him, which like a prodigall he profusely wasts and mispends, not so much for his owne pleasure, as the pastime of some and abuse of others. He was ill Catechised in his childhood and hath not yett learn'd his duty towards his neighbour for most irreverently he derides and abuseth his betters. His ambition is the reputacion of a nimble witt, which you must needs grant him, for nimblly it skips over his owne vices and lights on the imperfections of others. His conceipt like the offspring of a fleshfly feeds on corrupt humours and finding not food sufficient abroad, returnes for farther supply at home, where it sucks out from its owne store, enough to furnish and finish the Character. Directly to define who or what he is I cannot, since his person as his name is conceald. But if we may censure him as he all others, by guesse, He is of no profession, for he quarrells with all, no Religion, since to proclaime a jest, he sticks not to profane the text.

His meditation as the sight through a glasse perspective is transported to objects far remote and observes nothing neere him in him. He is a common barrester and quarrells with all men, and rather than want mater to worke on, he seeks knotts in a bulrush, and where he finds not, makes one. In breif, to trouble you no longer with him, His skull is the nutt shell and his braine the soapy froth in it, which blown with a puff of vaine glory sends forth these bubbles, which flying in the aire of the world make a glistering show and are admirable sport for Children, but the solid judgment esteems them as they are, Toyes, and with a blast of austere censure dissolves them into nothing and there's an end of them.

A Bedell

Is one that hath been a scholler, is a Master of Arts, and will be anything he may: he is heire apparent to every thing that falls and in the greater part tryes his title; he is to the Vice-chancellour as the article to the Noun, and his office consists much in ushering him demurely and calling a Congregacion with a good grace. He is a man of much action and some speech; and but of the Regent house, like the French waiters he is a cover'd servant. He lookes kindly uppon all, but hath his distances of respect proportionable to degrees and condicions; the succession of Vice-chancellours is his computacion and he allwaies prefers the present. He commends smoothes and quiett passages in the University and rejoyceth to see the fruitfullnes of his mother. The purchase of his office is Simony drawn out at length, which he executes by tradicion rather than by book. He serves in learning to the schools and like a server at table tasts none himselfe. His busines is to gett ground of other offices to lay to his owne, and he courts the heads for an interpretacion. He studyes composicions and as the University judges of learning and manners so he of revenews of commencers. His staff he layes down yearly at the Universities feet, which presently for leggs makes him an act of Resumption. He pretends to rule all and prevailes till he meets with a Vice-chancellour that knows himselfe and him so well that though he follow him, yett he will not be led by him. Breifely, He only knows profitabile statutes and practiseth only what he knows.

A Rambler

Is a reasonable spung, that sucks not in the best liquor, but what comes next: ease and example corrupted him and being taken (like a Dequoy Duck) he serves to bring others in: His Fortitude is to beare drinke and his Justice is to pledg and bee pledged. Hee rolls from house to house like a ship without a sterne, and at every Red lattice putteth in to take fresh. He confirms the Philosopher that thought moisture the beginning of things and as a creature of that he is hardly conteined within his owne bounds. After some days

forraging home he comes with his load, and the next morning with yawnes, stretches, and belches, he sacrifices to yesterdayes remembrance. Drink is his bisines and sleepe his recreation. He is the list for diseases to fight in, which at last leave their owne quarrells and turne all upon him. He prefers the invention of a Tabaccho-pipe before navigacion or Printing: and thinks poorly of them that never drink but when they are dry. Of the Elements (with Pindar) he commends water, and of the combinacions, cold and moystre. The most of man that he shows is in being sociable, and he never parts without an appointment of the next meeting. He divides the Day and the night into halffes and knows not what a forenoon is made of. Quantity he regards rather than quality and dayly coines new phrases for being drunk. The heate of his liver makes bold with his complection, and he looks so much on the face of a jug that the strength of his imaginacion workes him like it. The moystre of his lower parts furnishes his upper region with meteors which must either be spent with abstinence or composed with poenitentiall drinke and pottage. After a hott service he will repent and keepe close, but with much perplexity for feare his companions shold think him earnest and lett him alone. Without any ends of sinister respect he loves [drink?] purely for it selfe and Tobaccho as his ffs fd. Breifly He is anything but himselfe and if you find him not here, go a Proctouring.

Sturbridge Fayre

Is a stubble feild oregrown with booths, a peaceable camp or a towne sticht up; a place where men thinke they are couzened and are not deceiv'd. The Londoners bring downe theire sick commodityes to take the ayre, and the Countrey tradesmen to sweare and utter their wares with creditt: the heaviest wares go lightest off and the Pedler and Tobaccho man are the last that are borne. It is a resort of divers humours accustomed to flow to such a place at such a season which the heate of a few daies commerce spends and disperses. The schollers make it their suburbs, and though they buy but superfluities yet they thinke their journey necessary. The countrey Gentleman makes his provision in his best cloaths, and hath brought his wife with him to save her longing. Cold meate and hot drink are in fashion and the greatest affront to the fayre is foule weather. The buyers and sellers like Gamesters worke one upon the other and the Victualer like the box takes on both sides. The Northern man maintaines his Prerogative of being lowdest and his speech is as broad as his cloath. The tradesmen like Poenitentiareyes live in sackcloath, and keep their familiees in booths, as the Hollanders doe in ships. At last, like an enchanted Castle, it is resolved into dust and oyster shells and the corruption of this one faire, is the generation of divers others.

CYNEWULF'S CHRIST 678-679

It must have occurred to every attentive reader of Cynewulf's *Christ* that the poet indulged in an odd freak of fancy when he mentioned the power of tree-climbing in his enumeration of the God-given attributes of mankind. I, at least have never been reconciled to the eccentricity. Otherwise, the passage (659-685), which parallels *The Gifts of Men* (also in the Exeter Book), has adequate dignity and considerable poetic charm.

To one is given eloquence of speech and song; to another the power of harping; to another the interpretation of divine law; to another knowledge of the stars; to another writing; and to still another success in war. Another, again, is a bold sailor. Then occurs the passage to which I have reference, and after it the mention of the man who can forge weapons and of him who has been a traveller. In all this there is nothing trivial or grotesque. In short compass we have a review of the chief activities of mankind. Why should tree-climbing be placed among them?

Verses 678b-679a read:

Sum mæg hēanne bēam
stælgne gestigan.

Grein translated:

Mancher mag hohe Bäume
steile besteigen.

Gollancz has:

One can ascend
the lofty tree and steep.

Brooke's rendering is:

One the soaring tree
Can, though steep, ascend.

Some such translation there must be of the text as it stands. Kennedy's interpretation: ¹ "And one ascendeth up the steep, high cross," would be plausible, if the whole passage were not concerned with the natural endowments and occupations of man. Since it is, any reference to the cross, with or without the intention of alluding to the crucifixion of Christ, does not fit into the context.

The difficulty is one of sense, and in a lesser degree of style. The verb *gestigan* cannot mean anything else than *ascend* or *climb*, as

¹ *The Poems of Cynewulf*, 1910, p. 173.

is assured by an examination of all the passages where it occurs; yet the feat of tree-climbing (usually taken, I believe, as representing what we modern Americans call "athletics") seems oddly out of place among the capabilities listed above. Moreover, the position of the adjective *stālgne* is odd. Its parallelism in meaning with *hēanne* of the previous line is not developed as it stands. Instead, there is an uncomfortable syntactical arrangement not common with Cynewulf. As a predicate adjective it would be excellently placed at the beginning of the line, but as an attributive modifier of *bēam* it is out of harmony.

For the sake, then, of both sense and style emendation of the text seems desirable, even though tampering with manuscript readings ought to be resorted to as infrequently as possible. This seems to me a case where a change is necessary. The change I suggest is very slight. Instead of *gestigan* I would read *gestiepan*, involving a change of only two letters. The verb occurs twice in Old English poetry: once in *Exodus* 297, where it has its proper meaning of "raise, erect," and once in *Beowulf* 2393, where it is used in a metaphorical sense. The uncompounded *stiepan* is half a dozen times recorded, and *onstiepan* once. The passage in *Exodus* gives the meaning that I believe to be the correct one for *Christ* 679. It is a question of building. That the suggested reading is slightly *durior* does not make it less plausible.

For sense the reading is certainly preferable to that of the traditional text.

One the high tree
Can raise aloft.

That is, such a man is a builder, a joiner, a carpenter—whatever the skilled artisan who raised mead-halls may have been termed. The sailor is mentioned just before him and the armorer immediately after him. A necessary occupation is thus celebrated in its proper place. Surely such an interpretation of the passage is more sensible than to regard it as an allusion to sport.

It is worth while noting that there are two references to building in *The Gifts of Men*. The first (44-48) seems to have reference, like the passage discussed above, to the grand style of construction, while the second (75-76) speaks in more general terms of the craft. Both help to confirm my view that house-building rather than tree-climbing was regarded by our vigorous ancestors as a true gift of God.

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A NOTE ON FLAUBERT'S NOVEMBRE

In a letter to Louise Colet classed second in the series of 1853,¹ Flaubert makes mention of a young guest expected at Croisset upon the following day. He writes of him as follows: "Quant à lui il m'a paru être un assez intelligent garçon, mais sans *âpreté*, sans cette suite dans les idées qui seule mène à un but; il donne dans les théories, les symbolismes, Micheletteries, Quinetteries (j'y ai été aussi, je les connais)."²

Quinetteries! Flaubert, in the throes of tremendous struggles over the writing of *Madame Bovary*, might well allude to the enthusiasms of his early romanticism in half-mocking fashion as *Quinetteries*. The reference to Quinet, as to a youthful folly long since outgrown, is none the less significant. It is Flaubert's own acknowledgement of a literary influence perceptible in several of his *Œuvres de Jeunesse*: that of Quinet's *Ahasvérus* (1833).

As to Flaubert's acquaintance with the book, Maxime Du Camp says: "Il les savait par cœur [*René* and *Ahasvérus*], les récitat, en était imprégné jusqu'à les reproduire sans même le soupçonner."³ Descharmes notes the similarity between *Ahasvérus* and *Smark*.⁴ A. Coleman, in a more recent study of Flaubert, also testifies to the influence of *Ahasvérus* upon *Smark*.⁵

¹ Conard Edition. All references to Flaubert's works are to the Conard Edition.

² *Corr.*, II, pp. 200-201.

³ *Souvenirs Littéraires*, I, p. 168. (P. 313).

⁴ Descharmes, *Flaubert: Sa Vie, son Caractère et ses Idées avant 1857*, pp. 115 f. P. 117: "La similitude est surtout frappante quand on rapproche d'*Ahasvérus* un opuscule écrit par lui au printemps de 1839. Entraîné par l'exemple d'un livre qui avait eu son heure de vogue, il a voulu dans *Smark* retracer, lui aussi, sous l'aspect d'un symbole général, l'épopée de la misère humaine, comme avait fait Edgar Quinet. La donnée des deux ouvrages est identique." (v. *Ibid.*, p. 458, l. 1.)

Had Descharmes access to the ms. of *Smark*, or had he read only the fragments of the work incorporated in *Par les Champs et par les Grèves*? V. Descharmes, *ib.*, p. iv, n. (1), and p. 117, n. (1). If only portions of *Smark* were accessible to him, the testimony of Descharmes would be all the stronger.

⁵ Elliott Monographs. A. Coleman, *Flaubert's Literary Development in*

Smark was written between the end of 1838, and April 1839.⁶

Novembre was finished in 1842.⁷

Touching upon the name *Novembre*, Mr. Coleman suggests "that Flaubert might well have had in mind, when choosing the title and writing the opening paragraphs of his prose poem,⁸ another *Novembre*, that of *Les Orientales*, and especially two of its stanzas:

'Quand l'automne, abrégant les jours qu'elle dévore,
Eteint leurs soirs de flamme et glace leur aurore,
Quand *novembre* de brume inonde le ciel bleu,
Que le bois tourbillonne et qu'il neige des feuilles,
O ma muse! en mon âme alors tu te recueilles,
Comme un enfant transi qui s'approche du feu.

Puis tu prends mes deux mains dans tes mains diaphanes,
Et nous nous asseyons, et, loin des yeux profanes,
Entre mes souvenirs je t'offre les plus doux,
Mon jeune âge, et ses jeux, et l'école mutine,
Et les serments sans fin de la vierge enfantine,
Aujourd'hui mère heureuse aux bras d'un autre époux'."

He adds, however: "It would be inadvisable to take the comparison too literally or to attempt to point out any sustained parallel between these lines and *Novembre*. It might well be argued that Flaubert named his poems⁹ independently; that as autumn is autumn, whether in Flaubert or Hugo, the theme itself inevitably suggest (*sic*) a certain landscape and a certain melancholy and a regretful looking backward at the spring and summer of life."¹⁰

If a literary source of inspiration is to be considered, however, what could be more convincing than to find such a source in *Ahasvérus*? In fact, in *Ahasvérus* is found a passage which might so well have suggested both the title and opening paragraphs of *Novembre*, as to make the parallel with *Les Orientales* seem far-fetched, if not actually unnecessary.

the light of his Mémoires d'un Fou, Novembre, and Education Sentimentale (Version of 1845), p. 21; p. 97, n. 1.

⁶ *Corr.*, I, p. 38; *ib.*, p. 46; *O. de J.*, II, p. 120; Coleman, *ib.*, p. 31, n. 2.

⁷ Coleman, *ib.*, p. 22, and n. 1; *Corr.*, I, p. 181; *Corr.*, II, p. 393; *O. de J.*, II, p. 162, p. 256.

⁸ The use of the word *poem* may be questioned.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Coleman, *ib.*, p. 30.

"Plus loin! avançons! Quand le monde est passé, il reste encore dans son verre un goût amer; quand il est tu, on entend après lui frissonner à sa place un mot qui s'appelle Désespoir. De sa branche sont tombés ses noms, ses jours de fête, ses calomnies, ses fleurs sanguinolentes; comme feuilles mortes en novembre, mes pas les balayent. A mon tour, quand viendra ma saison de novembre?"—Quinet, *Ahasvérus*, p. 308.

"J'aime l'automne, cette triste saison va bien aux souvenirs. Quand les arbres n'ont plus de feuilles, quand le ciel conserve encore au crépuscule la teinte rousse qui dore l'herbe fanée, il est doux de regarder s'éteindre tout ce qui naguère brûlait en vous.

"Je viens de rentrer de ma promenade dans les prairies vides, au bord des fossés froids où les saules se mirent; le vent faisait siffler leurs branches dépouillées, quelquefois il se taisait, et puis recommençait tout à coup; alors les petites feuilles qui restent attachées aux brouissailles tremblaient de nouveau, l'herbe frissonnait en se penchant sur terre, tout semblait devenir plus pâle et plus glacé; à l'horizon le disque du soleil se perdait dans la couleur blanche du ciel, et le pénétrait alentour d'un peu de vie expirante. J'avais froid et presque peur.

"Ma vie entière s'est placée devant moi comme un fantôme, et l'amer parfum des jours qui ne sont plus m'est revenu avec l'odeur de l'herbe séchée et des bois morts; mes pauvres années ont repassé devant moi, comme emportées par l'hiver dans une tourmente lamentable; quelque chose de terrible les roulait dans mon souvenir, avec plus de furie que la brise ne faisait courir les feuilles dans les sentiers paisibles; une ironie étrange les frôlait et les retournait pour mon spectacle, et puis toutes s'envolaient ensemble et se perdaient dans un ciel morne.

"Elle est triste, la saison où nous sommes."—*O. de J., II, Novembre*, pp. 162-163.

Flaubert's familiarity with *Ahasvérus*, and the marked influence of *Ahasvérus* upon *Smarh* are, by the testimony given above, estab-

lished beyond reasonable doubt. Flaubert, engaged upon *Novembre* in 1842, can not completely have forgotten the book which so strongly determined his work between 1838 and 1839. Therefore, nothing seems more probable than that the passage quoted from Quinet should have furnished a suggestion for Flaubert's next step.

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REVIEWS

Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik, von AGATHE LASCH. Halle, Niemeyer, 1914. (Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte IX.)

The last twenty years have seen the gradual entrance of women into the field of philology, a domain which had hitherto been almost exclusively cultivated by men. A number of able dissertations and other smaller contributions have appeared from the pens of women, but as far as I know, this grammar of Middle Low German is the most pretentious piece of philological work attempted by a woman. Moreover, the attempt was of special difficulty, as the Low German field has been rather neglected, when compared with the attention paid to Gothic, Old High and Middle High German. Very little has been done in the way of investigation of the use of individual chancelleries and of their relations to each other. What grammars there were, such as K. Nerger's *Grammatik des mecklenburgischen Dialektes älterer und neuerer Zeit*, 1869, and Lübben's *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik*, 1882, were antiquated and superficial. Lübben's work especially was invalidated by his refusal to recognize the presence of the umlauts of *o* and *u*. Miss Lasch prepared herself for her larger work by a study of the *Schriftsprache in Berlin bis zur Mitte des 16. Jh.*, 1910. In the present work, although laboring under peculiar difficulties, being able to investigate *an Ort und Stelle* only in her summer vacations, she has produced a grammar which takes its place worthily at the side of the other grammars of the series. The word *kurz* in the title of the series is somewhat of a misnomer when applied to such grammars as Braune's *Ahd. Grammatik*

which is invaluable for its wealth of detail. So this work of Lasch of nearly 300 pages, 190 of which are devoted to the phonology, with its valuable system of cross references, is comprehensive rather than brief.

The author has wisely based her work on the *Urkunden*, letters and other prose texts of the period, especially on those connected with the chancelleries, as being less subject to High German influence than verse was, as shown by Roethe in his *Reimvorreden*. She has cleverly disarmed criticism by calling attention to the fact, that owing to the lack of preliminary investigations (*Vorarbeiten*) her work must be considered merely an *Anregung für weiteres Schaffen*. Nevertheless the author has not contented herself with writing a merely descriptive grammar, the easiest and safest thing to do under the circumstances, but has had the courage to treat the speech phenomena in most cases historically and to venture explanations of the causes of the many sound changes. One feels on almost every page that she has had to make these decisions by herself on the basis of the material collected, with little or no help from others. Under such conditions it is but natural that here and there one may differ from the author, believe that her conclusions are false or at least too hasty, or that her presentation is unclear. Behaghel in his review (*Litbl.* 1915, 76-82) has called attention to a number of such cases. The following have occurred to me in reading through the work:

On p. 51 in speaking of the lengthening of a vowel before *r* + *n* or *d*, Lasch remarks that the introduction of an *e* between *r* and *n*, e. g. in *koren*, proves this. There is no doubt, of course, that the vowels were lengthened in such cases, as shown by such spellings as *peerde*, *geern*, etc., but I fail to see how the introduction of *e* between the consonants proves this, at least it does not in other dialects. Thus it is frequent in older Upper German owing to the reluctance to pronounce such consonants together, but there is no indication that the vowel in such cases is lengthened, cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gr.* p. 61.

§ 79 we read: 'har < her in älteren texten ist vortonige entwicklung; vgl. *antwer* usw. § 221, III.' These two phenomena can not, however, be compared, as in *antwer*, as Lasch herself points out, we have the retention of original *a*, but in *har* *a* is developed from *e* before *r*.

In § 83 Lasch explains the forms *derf* and *der* as due partly to enclisis or proclisis, partly to the influence of *r*, especially of *r* + cons. This latter development is, however, rare, as L. herself confesses, § 77. Generally the reverse is the case. As to its being a weakening due to the lack of emphasis this is even more doubtful. No other preterite-present verbs show such weakenings and in general these verbs are too important in meaning to be unstressed. To my mind a much simpler explanation would be to consider *derf* and *der* as due to analogy with the plural forms *derven* and *derren* which occur as variants of *dörven* and *dörren*, cf. § 442. On the other hand, the adverb *der* given in Anm. 1 as a weakening of *dar* is correctly explained. It occurs already in O. S. (Holthausen § 125) and is frequent in M. H. G.

§ 96 we read: 'auffallend sind einige male die schreibungen *au* vor *ld*.' To judge by the remarks that follow, L. does not seem to recognize this wide-spread change of *a* to *an* before *ld* which is common in Scotch (*auld*, etc.) and in Dutch (*out* 'old,' *houden* 'hold,' etc., cf. Franek, *Mndl. Gr.* § 50). It is also found in Silesian texts of the 14th and 15th centuries, probably through the influence of the Dutch colonization (Weinhold, *Mhd. Gr.* § 37).

§ 121. In his review Behaghel considers the following statement difficult to understand: 'Einsilbige wörter vom typus *êt* 'eid' scheinen vielfach unter dem ton gedeihnt zu sein. Mit auffallend häufigem *eit* (mit *ei*) vgl. bei Oldecop *ehit* 'eid.' I suppose Lasch means that the spelling *ehit* would indicate that the *ê* was drawled and changed to a long diphthong *ei*. To my mind, however, the frequent occurrence of *eit* makes it natural to suspect H. G. influence which is undoubtedly the cause for the appearance of *heit* in syllables with secondary stress instead of the usual *hêt*. Behaghel is right in considering Lasch's remark on this in § 122 incorrect. That *ei* and *ê* should occasionally occur side by side as given in § 123 need not surprise us. The difference between *ê* and *ei* was so slight in the older language that they are frequently confused in H. G. dialects where no L. G. influence is possible (cf. Braune § 44 anm. 4). L. herself says, § 23: die scheidung von *ê*, *ei* ist mnd. orthographisch nicht deutlich. In some cases in M. L. G. the *i* might be explained as in § 22 as *ein nachgeschriebener vokal*.

In § 166 we miss an explanation of the wide-spread appearance

of *ou* for *ô* in older texts. Lübben explains it as due to a drawling pronunciation (*breite, gezogene Aussprache*) and not to the influence of H. G. We have here undoubtedly the first orthographical evidences of the development of *ô* to *ou* or *au* which also characterizes English and occurs in three out of the four main divisions of the modern L. G. dialects (Cf. Grimme, *Plattdeutsche Mundarten*, § 59).

§ 172 we read: 'Die bedingungen unter denen *wi*->*u* wurde, sind noch nicht sicher erkannt. Wahrscheinlich vor ursprünglich folgendem dunklem vokal, etc.' To my mind the change does not depend principally on the vowel or consonant that follows, but upon the preceding *w*, which everywhere tends to labialize a following palatal vowel, as in H. G. (*würde* < *wirde*, *zwölf* < *zwelf*). H. G. always retains the *w*, but many languages drop it as soon as the vowel has assumed the *w*-quality. This is especially the case when *w* is medial after consonant. In the words for 'sister' this is true of practically all the Germanic languages except H. G. (M. E. *suster* < *sweostor*; Dutch *zuster*; Danish *søster*; Swedish *syster*; Icel. *systir*; Rip. *söster*. Swedish shows the same phenomenon in *tolf* 'twelve'). That the change in *süster* is more consistent and general than in *tüschen*, is probably due to the fact that it had no related word at its side to exert a corrective influence. In *tüschen* for *twischen* the word for 'two' with which it was felt to be connected either helped to retain the *w* or to reinstate it after it had already been lost, as in the case of the form *twüschen*. The labialization of *i* to *ü* was probably aided by the *sch* of the word, which has a rounded pronunciation in German dialects (Vietor, *Phonetik* p. 184). The form *schöpen* for *schepen* admits of the same explanation, aided by the labial character of *p*. The consonant *s* itself may have had a labializing effect in L. G. as in M. L. Fr. (Cf. Franck, *Mln. Gr.* § 55) and the forms *sös*, *söstich* and *söder* < *seder* may be accounted for in that way.

In § 227 the *ss* of the pronoun *desse*, *düsse* is explained as the assimilation of the dative cases, O. S. *thesemu* and *thesaro* becoming respectively *desme* and *desre*, from which the stem *dess-* is then derived. This theory is ingenious, but I can recall no case in which *sm* or *sr* assimilate to *ss*. On the contrary *sm* becomes *mm* by assimilation, as in Gothic *þamma* when compared with Sanscrit *tasmai*; *sr* becomes *rr*, as in M. H. G. dat. fem. *dirre*. If, as gen-

erally assumed, the pronoun *desse* is composed of *þe* + *se*, then the *ss* form is probably due to the influence of the gen. sing. masc. or neuter with internal inflection, i. e. *þes* + *se*. This form does not occur, it is true, in O. S., as far as the literary monuments go, but might have existed, just as it did in O. H. G. *desse*. Cf. Kluge, *Urg.* p. 212; Braune, *Ahd. Gr.* ³. p. 240.

§ 231. How does L. know that metathesis is dependent on the development of a secondary vowel? Sievers in his *Phonetik*, § 771, says nothing of such a cause, but speaks merely of a 'Vertauschung der Reihenfolge (wie *bersten* aus *brestan*)'; nor is any such reason given either by Franck, *Mnl. Gr.* § 105 or by Wilmanns, *Gr.* I. § 159 in their treatments of metathesis. As is well known it is common both in English and Dutch where the development of secondary vowels is rare.

In § 232 it would be better for the sake of clearness to separate Primitive Germanic consonant gemination from the West Germanic, as Braune has done, *Ahd. Gr.* ³. § 95 seq. Especially confusing to the beginner is the placing of the examples of P. G. gemination after those of W. G., whereas in the text above the processes are mentioned in their chronological order.

In § 261 L. treats one of the most difficult and puzzling problems of L. G. philology, the disappearance of the nasals *m*, *n* before the spirants *f*, *þ*, *s*. Especially difficult is the question of the disappearance of *n* before *þ*, as the modern dialects are not in accord with the O. S., or at any rate with the dialect of the *Helian*, in this particular. Such forms as O. S. *ððar* stand in sharp opposition to M. L. G. *ander* and to the various modern forms with *n*, but agree rather with the Anglo-Frisian branch. Various explanations have been suggested. Collitz, (*Pub. M. L. A.* xvi, 131; *Wald. Wb.* p. 70 seq.) considers the O. S. forms to show the influence of a Frisian literary dialect. Bremer, (*Pauls Grdr.* ². I, 866,) thinks the distinction a social one, that a few prominent families spread the Anglo-Frisian dialect over all the Saxon lands. Mutschmann, (*Beitr.* xxxii, 544 seq.), believes that *n* was first dropped everywhere before *þ*, but that when *þ* became *d*, that *n* was reinstated. I agree with Lasch on this point that it is better to assume that the forms with and without the nasal existed side by side. The nasal form must have always existed among the people and have been spoken by them. Temporarily it was crowded out of the lit-

erature in the O. S. period under the influence of a literary or social norm, to reappear again in M. L. G. after this influence had waned, just as the dual forms of the personal pronoun were preserved for hundreds of years among the people of Bavaria without a trace of them being seen in the literature.

In the case of *n* before *s* the development seems to have been more consistent, altho *n* forms appear here too. In the dialects of the old Saxon land the *n* seems to have been universally lost before *s*; where it appears it is probably due to foreign influence, either Low Franconian or High German, in both of which *n* was retained. The *s/n* line, as Wrede remarks (*Anz.* 18,405), is 'ein herkömmliches unterscheidungsmerkmal zwischen nd. und md.' On page 406 he further states that the line marks a fundamental difference between the dialects of the old *Stammland* and those of the younger colonial lands in the east. To my mind these two circumstances give the key to the situation and indicate that the retention of *n* is due to outside influence. Lasch seems to think that *n* was regularly retained in the plural of the word for 'goose,' but lost in the singular, to judge by her remark: 'das zu erwartende *gense* ist noch oft erhalten: Prignitz sg. *gōs*, pl. *gāns*' Under the declension of the feminine *i*-stems, however, she says nothing of a change in the plural. Without having been able to investigate the matter in detail, it seems to me in view of the modern forms (Grimme § 127 gives no instance of a sing. or plur. with *n* and Wrede makes no distinction between sing. and plur.) extremely doubtful that *n* was retained in the plural as opposed to the sing. That *n* should appear in the colonial lands, as in Prignitz, is but natural, as they stood under the influence of the Dutch. Where, however, the country was settled by people of Saxon origin, as in Mecklenburg, the word appears without *n*, as L. shows. As to *uns*, *unser*: *ûs*, *ûser*, the fact that the literary form exhibits *n*, while the one without *n* is the colloquial word (*Sprechform*), seems again to point to foreign influence. In Brandenburg and in Westphalia, where Dutch influence was strong, we learn from Lasch that in the one case *uns* was the regular form, in the other it predominated. It is to be regretted that L. with the wealth of material she has collected did not investigate the matter thoroughly with the idea of throwing more light upon the word, which, as Collitz (*Wald. Wb.* p. 61) says: 'noch sehr der Aufhellung bedarf.' We hope that she will take the question under consideration.

In § 298 Anm. we read: 'Mnd. inlautend *v* zeigt heute sehr verschiedene entwickelung: teils ist es labiodentaler spirant, teils entwickelt es sich zum verschlusslaut *b*, teils ist es ganz geschwunden.' For those who are not as familiar with the modern L. G. as the author, it would be well to give examples of these various developments of *v*, especially as in § 290 Anm. 2. the appearance of *b* for *v* in early texts is considered to be due to H. G. influence, and Grimme, § 104, states that *v* remains in modern L. G. when medial as *w*, except before *m*.

In § 308 the remark: 'In weitem umfange ist die öffnung des dentalen verschlusses nach einem auslautenden dental schriftlich fixiert' would be clearer if the word *nasal* were introduced, as it is the question not of any dental closure, but only of the dental nasal. Not until the reader glances at the examples does he see what is really meant. Similarly the sentence: 'Interkonsonantischer dental fällt zuweilen' would be improved by the addition of the word *aus*, as this phenomenon is usually termed *ausfall*. In the same paragraph two sentences seem to contradict each other, unless I have failed to catch the drift: 'Besonders oft ist *t* nach *ch* und *f* ausgefallen' and 'Inlautend wie auslautend scheint die nachbarschaft eines dentals den ausfall zu begünstigen.' If a dental favors the syncope of *t*, then one is surprised to learn that it takes place so frequently after *ch* and *f*. It seems to me that we have to do here with two entirely different phenomena. In the case of *is* for *ist* and *sin* for *sint* we have the same reluctance to end a dental spirant with a dental stop when the word is unstressed that we have in English and Dutch and which has made *is* the standard form in these two languages, whereas in H. G. with its crisper and sharper enunciation the *t* has been retained in *ist*. For the same reason *t* is dropped in the unstressed word *sint*, just as in Danish *d* is not pronounced in such compound numerals as *tresindstyve*, although it is still written. On the other hand, in the case of *t* disappearing after *ch* or *f*, it is the difficult consonant combination caused by the difference of articulation which produces the syncope of *t*. This is the only condition involved, as Moser points out (*Einführung in die frühnhd. Schriftdialekte* § 115: 'nach schwerer Konsonanz.') It is found in all dialects, cf. *mark* for *markt*; *achzig* for *achtzig*; *willpraete* for *wiltpraete*; *Haupmann* for *Hauptmann*, etc. Lübben, p. 47, remarks: 'Es muss der ndd. Zunge schon früh wie heute schwer gefallen sein, das *t* nach *ch*

ordentlich zu Gehör zu bringen.' In the same paragraph and in § 230 Lasch calls the disappearance of *t* in *beste* < *betste*, *lest* < *letste* a kind of dissimilation. Again I must differ, for to my mind it is not dissimilation but rather assimilation which causes the *t* to disappear. Holthausen, § 239, speaks merely of the *Schwund des t*, but both Paul, *Mhd. Gr.* § 71, 2 and Wilmanns, *Deutsche Gr.* I, § 161 treat of it as assimilation.

In § 337 we read: 'k > ch nach i in unbetonter stellung: -ik > -ich in der silbe -lik, etc.' It seems to me that it may be fairly well doubted, whether this is a regular sound change, as Lasch seems to think. Lübben, p. 57, states that the ending is regularly *-lik*, but that it is occasionally written *-lich* by false analogy with the ending *-ich* (mhd. *-ic*), which in turn by false analogy appears as *-ik*. That we have to do here with a confusion of the two suffixes *-lik* and *-ig* is shown by the fact that in the longer form *-liken* the *k* is often written *g* (*-ligen*), since *k* does not otherwise appear as *g* between vowels (cf. Lasch § 335). If the change were a regular one, then we should expect to find it in the pronoun *ik*, as this is frequently unstressed. Lasch, however, does not consider such forms as *ich*, *ech*, to be L. G. If that is the case with *ich*, then it is also likely to be true of *sich* for *sik*. Grimme § 108 states that the suffix appears as *-lik* in the Assinghausen and Ostbevern groups of dialects, but *-lich* in the Stavenhagen group and *-li* (< *-lich*) in the Heide group. Again, however, the confusion in the latter case is shown by the fact that medially it appears as *-lig*. A confusion with the suffix *-ig* would of course account for *ch*, as *g* is always written *ch* when final. There is still, however, another possible interpretation of the *ch*, which L. herself suggests in connection with the pronoun *ich*, namely, that *ch* might stand here for *kh*, i. e. an aspirated *k*. In § 336 she calls attention to the fact that *k* when final often appears as *ch* = *c* (*volch*, *dinch*). She then continues: 'Hiernach wird auch *ch* nach vokal zu beurteilen sein, und es wird sich in dem häufigen ôch nicht immer um spiranten handeln müssen.' In the case of *sprach*: *spreken* which she explains together with *shê* and *vhê* as an instance of the tendency to lengthen short words by the addition of *h*, the *ch* should be rather explained as in *volch*. As to the names compounded with *-rik*, they, too, can be similarly explained as *ch* for final *k*, or as H. G. influence, which as we have seen, is strong in family names.

In § 351 we read: 'Auslautendes *ch* nach konsonant oder langem vokal wurde früh zum hauchlaut und schwand.' As the only instance of *ch* disappearing after consonant, which L. is able to adduce, is *beval* and she herself is not certain but what this is an 'ausgleich nach dem inlaut,' it seems to me it would be better to state that *ch* disappeared after a long vowel and then give *beval* as a doubtful case of the same thing happening after consonant. Behaghel asks in his review, how L. knows that *ch* became a 'hauchlaut' before disappearing. To my mind L. is right here, for this is the only possible physiological explanation of the dropping of *ch* in such cases, just as in the frequent instances in H. G. This is best seen when medial, as for example when the *h* of M. H. G. *stahel* gradually loses its spirant character, so that the word becomes the monosyllabic N. H. G. *stahl*, where *h* is retained merely as a sign of length.

§ 361. As the nom. and acc. of neuter *e/o* stems were already identical in the primitive Indo-European period it is hardly a correct way of putting it to say, as L. does in this paragraph, that the nom. and acc. sing. of masculine and neuters had fallen together, as if it had taken place at the same time.

§ 362 in speaking of the retention of the thematic vowels of *i* and *u* stems in O. S. (*kuri, sunu*) it would have been well for the sake of accuracy to have mentioned that this was the case only with short stems.

§ 382 something should have been said about the dropping of *n* in the acc. sing. of fem. weak nouns (*tunge*). This is especially striking, as the *n* was retained in the parallel case of the weak adjective in M. L. G. In H. G. the *n* persisted through the M. H. G. period and in fact down to the end of the 18th century, as many cases in Goethe's works show. The *n* was of course dropped through analogy with the nominative case, as stated by Wilmanns, III, 2, p. 394.

In the treatment of the cardinals we read § 396, Anm. 4 that the gen. plur. *twîger* cannot be derived from O. S. *tweio*, but must have been modeled on *drîger*. This is false, as *drîger* occurs in O. S. just as little as *twîger* does. The gen. plur. of 'three' does not occur in our O. S. documents, but Holthausen, § 379 gives the starred form **thriô* on the analogy of O. H. G. *drîo*. The *er* form of M. L. G. in both words is due to the influence of the gen. plur. of the adjective in *er(e)*. In O. H. G., Tatian uses *zweiero* and

from the eleventh century on *driero* is found. The *er* form became the prevailing one in M. H. G. as in M. L. G. See Braune, *Ahd. Gr.* § 270, anm. 2 and 4 and also Wilmanns III, 2, p. 445.

In § 422 in the treatment of the 2d sing. pret. of strong verbs one misses a statement to the effect that the O. S. form ending in *i*, with its pret. subj. vowel had been given up in favor of the *-est* (*-es*) of the weak verbs. It is true that L. does not in all cases trace the forms from the O. S., but she does it so frequently that it would be well to make her practice uniform, especially as such an historical treatment adds immeasurably to the value of any grammatical treatise.

The proof-reading of the grammar has not been as careful as in the case of most books printed in Germany, which is partly due, as the author explains, to her great distance from the printer. In addition to the many errata given on pp. 285-286, I have noted the following: p. 75 l. 3 read § 403a2 for 402 a. 5; § 244, l. 1 read *nach* for *noch*; § 271 *nn > nd* should read *nn < nd*, cf. § 323 and § 261 anm. 3.; p. 172, l. 6 from below read *anlehnung* for *ahnlehnung*; § 404 anm. 1 read § 403 for § 402.

Altho I have felt it necessary to differ with L. in the points treated above, I do not wish to be thought as belittling the admirable work that the author has done. One has only to open the book at random and to compare any treatment with the corresponding one in Lübben to be convinced of the great advance which this grammar denotes. Where Lübben contents himself with a few general and often vague remarks we find here a wealth of detail. The sounds are treated from every point of view and the thorough system of cross references will make the book invaluable as a reference work. Especially good is the discussion of the umlauts of *u* and *o* which L. conclusively proves to have existed in M. L. G., tho Lübben denied it. No less than twelve pages are devoted to umlaut as compared to five in Lübben. Excellent is also the treatment of grammatical change in § 226 and that as a principle regulating the alternation of *d* and *t*, *f* and *v*, it gave way to the laws of finals. The detailed statistics of the change of *th* to *d*, § 319, are of decided value for students. Lübben gives practically nothing but the mere statement of the fact. The introduction and the general treatment of the period, including the question of the literary norm and the orthography, is well written, accurate and succinct in its statements. In addition the work is

provided with an excellent bibliography and a good word-index. Syntax is not treated, but the author is evidently following here the tradition set by Braune in the same series. The most original and on that account the most debatable part of the grammar is that in which L. states her views as to the development of the long monophthongs in L.G. Deviating from the ordinary view, she considers them secondary. Instead of thinking that the so-called *tonlange Vokale* were simply the lengthening of short vowels in open accented syllable, she believes that diphthongs first appeared, which were later simplified to monophthongs. On this account she rejects the expression *tondehnung* and *tonlange Vokale* and substitutes that of *zerdehnung*. This view is not entirely new, as Jostes criticized the older belief nearly thirty years ago (*Nd. Jb.* xi, 91) and Collitz (*Wald. Wb.*, p. 6) says: 'man darf mit gleichem Rechte annehmen, die nordsächs. einfachen Tonlängen seien aus Diphthongen . . . hervorgegangen.' Collitz therefore suggested the expressions *verstärkte Vokale* or *gesteigerte Vokale* in place of *tonlange*. The older view, however, still held the field and Lasch, evidently feeling that her theory might arouse opposition, explained it and developed it at length before the appearance of her grammar in an article, *Beitr.* xxxix, 116-133. Her fears proved true, as it has resulted in a somewhat acrimonious discussion. Frings attacked her rather unkindly, *Beitr.* xl, 112-126 and she answered *ibid.*, p. 304, deprecating his arrogance, but defending her position vigorously and convincingly. Thus far she seems to have had the better of the argument. The courteous character of her reply wins the sympathy of the reader and convinces him that the advent of women in the field of philology is a good thing, if it will put an end to the supercilious and discourteous tone which unfortunately too often disfigures articles written by German scholars.

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An Italian Dictionary by ALFRED HOARE, M.A. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1915.

At last an excellent Italian-English Dictionary. This is the impression one gets even from a rapid glance at Mr. Hoare's book. It is ample, yet of reasonable size; it is printed and bound hand-

somely; the paper is thin, yet solid; the only disadvantage of the volume is that it sells for twelve dollars, a price that obviously makes it inaccessible to most students and teachers. The contents of the book are well arranged; the words adequately explained. This Dictionary indeed fills a gap in the study of Italian by English-speaking people. For, of course, we had many dictionaries, from Baretti's, which is rather old-fashioned, to Edgren's, which might well be called the best of our small modern Italian-English interpreters, neither, however, being quite adequate. And between them there is a host of unsuccessful and misleading attempts, such as Melzi's and a dozen or more other pocket and table dictionaries. Now at last we really have a good work, and the more one gives it careful perusal the better it seems. Mr. Hoare obviously is a scholar, a very accurate craftsman, a man intimately familiar with Italian thought and literature, and with all the shadings of Italian expression, even down to the most colloquial Tuscan idioms. We needed just such a book and needed it badly; how refreshing it is to find that it has been done, and done remarkably well!

Arrangement

In his Introductory Remarks the author describes the method of his book. The Italian-English part is very full and detailed, the English-Italian part very short and concise. This seems wise because, after all, most students want a reading knowledge of Italian, a knowledge that will give them a pass to the infinite treasures of Italian literature; very few can hope to speak or write Italian well without going to Italy, and for ordinary needs a "concise" English-Italian Dictionary is quite sufficient. Two sizes of type are used in the Italian-English part, words most looked for being printed in larger type. This scheme, of course, leaves much to the arbitrary judgment of the compiler, so that nobody will agree with him in every single case, but the idea is a practical one, and very rarely seems misleading. All "affiliated" words, such as diminutives, etc., which are so numerous in Italian, are merely indicated by their terminations, without translation. This saves a quantity of futile explanation. All irregular tenses of verbs are given under the infinitive, a thing most convenient for beginners. Practical abbreviations have been adopted, for instance, for exact cognates, and for obsolete and local words, which are marked by an asterisk

and a dagger, respectively. Adequate signs are also provided for correct pronunciation, the "hard and soft *s* and *z* are distinguished by having a dot over them when they are soft"; open and close *e* and *o* (which are so puzzling) are "indicated by a grave and acute accent respectively." These are not the signs and the nomenclature more commonly adopted by phoneticians, but they are simple and correct. Etymologies are amply given, following Diez, Pianigiani etc. In his "Notes upon the Italian Language" Mr. Hoare speaks with appropriate brevity of the origin, punctuation and pronunciation of Italian, and adds a few grammatical remarks so short as to suggest that the author is merely trying to make clear a few points neglected or not clearly stated by grammars. This part is unsatisfactory. He ends these "stray notes" with a few clear words on Italian suffixes.

In making this book Mr. Hoare of course made use of many others, most of which he enumerates on p. xiii. Among the strictly Italian Dictionaries the most authoritative is doubtless that edited by the *Accademici della Crusca*. Unfortunately, however, it does not go any farther than the letter *M*. Next in importance come three excellent dictionaries: the *Tommaseo-Bellini*, the *Petrocchi* and the *Rigutini e Fanfani*. It is probable that Mr. Hoare made use of these works in some such order, though he seems more often to have followed *Petrocchi*.

Italian-English Dictionary

Words are peculiarly living organisms. Many are old friends: we make use of them continually, and yet when we come to examine them closely we are puzzled. The more we look at them the more obscure they seem to become. It is probably instinctive familiarity and long experience with the two languages as much as careful investigation that will suggest the varied significance, the exact elasticity of a word, which at first sight seemed so obvious and limited. In reviewing a large dictionary done by a master hand one feels therefore somewhat timid, because perusal of the book must remain incomplete, and because criticism of it, in spite of authoritative references, must remain rather subjective. It is with this feeling that the following remarks are made. This Dictionary has been tested in several different ways. First from the point of view of ordinary spoken language, to see whether any words have

been actually omitted (other than those accounted for in the Introduction), whether all the meanings of a word are given, and in the correct order, and whether all kindred idioms appear with their exact English equivalents; from the point of view of archaic literary language, to see whether words used, for instance, by Dante, and now either dead or bearing a different significance, have been included; from the point of view of popular Tuscan idioms, inasmuch as Tuscan, since Dante the literary language of Italy, and studied and imitated diligently by such standard or popular authors as Manzoni and De Amicis, is today the central vehicle of literary production; from the point of view of commercial usage; and finally, from the point of view of scientific terminology—a field which specialists only can do more than examine superficially. From all these different points of view Mr. Hoare's work has been examined and found excellent.

Nevertheless there are several little points upon which the reviewer does not quite agree with him. In the following cases the Italian word, with Mr. Hoare's translation given exactly, when necessary, will be followed by the reviewer's suggestions in parenthesis. For English usage *Webster's International* will be considered authoritative, though in all doubtful cases *Murray* has been consulted, and even the *Century*.¹

Amore; . . . (also—*proprio*, 'pride'). *Battibecco*; wordy battle (good definition, cf. *Cr.*, but unusual English expression for very common Italian word; better 'squabble.' Word omitted by *Ed.*). *Broncio*; grudge, ill-temper (rather 1. 'pout,' *fare il-*, 'to pout'). *Buscherata*; pop. nonsense, lie (better 'foolishness, stupid mistake,' see *R. F.*, *Pet.*; "nonsense" is closer to *fandonie*, see *H.* under *fandonia*). *Cacciucco*; a sort of spiced fish soup ('stew' or 'chowder' rather than "soup," since it is practically a solid dish of fish, though with much gravy). *Cazzottaia*; vulgar term for row. (in Tuscany also *cazzottatura*, 'beating with fisticuffs'). *Coglione*; . . ., wretch, (too strong, just 'poor fool,' e. g., as used by Napoleon with reference to Louis XVI,² see *Cr.*). *Colcrème*; cold-cream, (barbarism, not in good use yet, omitted by *Cr.* and *R. F.*, and called by *Pet.* unusual and foreign). *Cotognato*; quince-jam (better

¹ For the sake of brevity the following abbreviations are adopted: for *Crusca*, *Cr.*, for *Petrochi*, *Pet.*, for *Rigutini e Fanfani*, *R. F.*, for *Tommaseo-Bellini*, *Tom.*, for *Baretti*, *Bar.*, for *Edgren*, *Ed.*, for *Webster's International*, *Web.*, for *Murray*, *M.*, for *Century*, *C.*, for *Hoare*, *H.*

² See Taine's *Les Origines de la France Contemporaine*, edited by *Edgren*; Holt & Co., p. 128.

'quince-paste,' since it has sufficient consistency to be cut with a knife; *Ed.* calls it "preserve or marmalade," both inexact). *Cruccio*; 1. mental or bodily suffering, 2. anger (also used for mere 'vexation'). *Esoso*; detestable, (too strong, usually means only 'awkwardly peculiar,' 'tiresome.' *Tom.* defines it "gravemente uggioso"). *Ficcone*; augm. spreg. of *ficchino* (but *ficchino* is never used, while *ficcone* has lost its augm. connotation, and is very commonly used for 'one who pokes his way in,' often just 'intruder'). *Ficone*; augm. *fico*, fig; (similarly has entirely lost the connotation of *fig*, *fico*, and is pop. for 'fussy,' even 'cry-baby,' though these last two words are not given by *Web.* *Ficone* is omitted by *Tom.*, *R. F.*, but not by *Pet.*). *Giovereccio*; bright and healthy-looking, (pretty close translation, or rather definition, but does not suggest primarily, as the word does, 'clean,' 'that cannot disgust,' see *Cr.*, *Pet.* There is no exact equivalent in English). *Giovevole*; (syn. with previous word). *Guardaroba*; . . . (also 'cloak-room,' 'check-room'). *Intingolo*; hash, fancy dish; ("hash" is an English dish, unknown in Italy. It might, however, be described as *battuto di carne*, or *battutino*, but not *intingolo*, which generally means 'dish with fancy gravy,' 'gravy,' or 'juicy morsel,' as in Goldoni's *La Locandiera*, I, 15. See *Cr.*, *Pet.*, *Tom.*, and cf. Fr. *ragoût*, but only in its original sense). *Lavare*; . . . *il capo a*; to scold, (more usual *dare una lavata di capo a*, 'to scold'). *Leccazampe*; flatterer, (why not the similar word 'bootlick' or 'bootlicker'? Or 'toady'? No less colloquial in Italian than in English. Word omitted by *Cr.*, and *Ed.* See *Web.*) *Lesinare*; . . . (not only "economize," but 'haggle'). *Materiale*; . . . (also 'material for building' Italian houses, viz. bricks and stones.) *Merenda*; . . . (also 'picnic'). *Moccione*; child with a dirty nose, (used by extension and pop. for 'brat'). *Nave*; . . . (also used, at least in Tuscany, for 'ferry-boat'). *Nitido*; shining (also 'orderly,' 'precise'). *Palto*; loose overcoat (omitted by *R. F.*; usually written *paltò*, see *Pet.*, which is the common word, though foreign, for any overcoat, cf. *soprabito*, *pastrano*). *Pasta*; . . . (*pasta asciutta* or *pasta asciutte*, generally means not "pastry made with cheese," but is the general term for spaghetti, macaroni and the like). *Perdere*; (add idiom):—*la bussola*, 'lose one's head, one's bearings'). *Pizzicore*; tingling (better 'tickling'; *fare il*—, 'tickle'). **Pristinè*; . . . has asterisk meaning obsolete word or not in common use; in fact it is dialectal and in common use in Lombardy, meaning 'bakery'). *Putiferio*; scandalous row (which agrees with *Pet.* and *Ed.*; by extension is understood to mean only 'row'). *Reticolato*; grating (better 'wire netting'; see *Web.* under 'grating,' and *H.* under *inferiata*). *Saluto*; salutations, (always used in pl. for 'greetings,' 'love': *tanti saluti ai tuoi*, 'love to your family'). *Scricciolo*; wren (used fig. for any small and stunted creature, therefore 'runt,' see *Web.*). *Strozzino*; . . . 2. money-lender (more especially applied to 'usurers,' see *Tom.*, *R. F.*).

Taglia; . . . (also 'denomination,' only with reference to bonds and stocks). *Tenuta*; . . . (also 'estate,' with reference to land). *Titolo*; . . . (a frequent though not very important idiom, chiefly journalistic, might here be added: *a titolo di cronaca*, 'as a matter of daily or local news'). *Ubbia*; superstitious scruple, faddy scruple (is it not pretty close to our pop. 'notion'?). *Ubbriaco*; . . . (the spelling with one *b* is more common, see *R. F.*). *Vagina*; 1. sheath (also 'string of a blouse,' see *H.* under *guaina*, which is the better word).

As can be seen from the above list, the modifications to be suggested are very slight. Actual omissions of words are very rare indeed. The following words, though perhaps purposely discarded by the author, one would like to find:

Ciao; 'goodbye,' equivalent to our pop. 'so long,' is now adopted all over Italy and probably derived from a dialectal Northern Italian form of *schiavo*, in the sense of 'your servant.' *Giuccheria*; pop. and perhaps only Tuscan for 'piece of foolishness.' *Menna*; likewise pop. for 'slouchy woman,' even 'old hag.' *Raspollatura*, from *raspollare* (see *H.*), 'to glean,' 'gleanings,' often used fig., for instance in sense of 'cursory literary studies.' *Trebbiatrice*, derived from *trebbiare* (see *H.*) 'threshing machine.' I hardly need to note such irrelevant omissions as the group: *fracassio*, *fracimolo*, which is, however, given by *Bar.*

One must remember that there are many Italian words for which there is absolutely no exact equivalent. In such cases Mr. Hoare's definitions will be found admirable. See for example *droghiere*, *pizzicagnolo*, *aggeggio* (for this last word cf. French colloquial use of *machine*).

English-Italian Dictionary

The fact that Mr. Hoare has made this part purposely very brief and concise, accounts for a few omissions of words or of subsidiary meanings. In the following enumeration I have avoided words already discussed.

Ado; affaccenducchiarsi ('affaccendarsi' is simpler and more common). *Ago*; fa (also 'or è,' 'or sono'). *Appointment*; *fissazione*, *scelta* (no: 'appuntamento,' because "fissazione" means *staring*, *fixed idea*, *obsession*, and "scelta" means *choice*). *Blemish*; *macchia*, *difetto* (only by extension, because "macchia" means *spot*, and "difetto" *defect*. *Blemish* is 'magagna,' see *Cr.*, or 'guasto,' possibly. This word is also inadequately translated by *Bar.* and *Ed.*). *Boulevard*; pubblico passaggio alberato (excellent

definition. The usual word is 'viale,' which is also *avenue*). *Brandy*; *acquavite* (often called pop. 'cognac,' though this word is not in *Cr.*) *Cabman*; *cocchiere* (no: 'vetturino' (in Florence 'fiaccheraio') *cocchiere* meaning *coachman*). *Cake*; *pasta*, *focaccia*, *schiacciata*, *gatò* (also 'chicca,' and not "gatò," which is a bad barbarism omitted by *Cr.*, *Pet.*, and *R. F.*). *Cart*; *carretta*, *camione*, *carrettone* (also, and more common, 'baroccio,' see *R. F.*). *Chair*; . . . *deck chair*, *cislunga* (this word is not in good use, omitted by *Cr.*, *Pet.*, *R. F.*, *Bar.*, and *Ed.*). *Chilly*; *freddo* (better 'fresco,' see *H.* under *freddo* and affiliated words). *Close-cropped*; *coi capegli corti* (more usual spelling 'capelli,' also see *H.* under *rapare*, and cf. Dante, *Inf.*, vii, 57, "e questi co' crin mozzi"). *Corner*; . . . (add 'cantuccio,' which is more usual, at least in Tuscany). *Crack*; . . . (add 'spacco'). *Fence*; . . . (also 'steccato,' 'stecconato,' and see *H.* under *impalcato*). *Fit*; *accesso*, *attacco* (also 'convulsione'). *Frame-maker*; *fabbricante di cornici* (also 'corniciaio'). *Eleventh*; *undecimo* (also 'undicesimo' and 'decimo primo,' see *Fornaciari*, *Gramm. Ital.*). *Forfeit*; . . . (also 'penitenza,' as used in games). *Garbage*; . . . (usually called in Florence 'spazzatura'). *Gentle*; . . . (also 'mansueto,' as applied to domestic animals) *Groom*; *scudiere*, *mozzo di stalla* (also 'sposo,' *bridegroom*). *Growl*; *brontolare*, *grugnare*, *borbottare* (a word that seems impossible to translate exactly, but "brontolare" is primarily to *grumble*; "grugnare" or better 'grugnire' is to *grunt*, "borbottare" is to *mumble*. 'Ringhiare' means both to *growl* and to *snarl*, see *Cr.*, *Pet.*, and cf. Dante's: "Stavvi Minos orribilmente e ringhia," which Professor Norton translated as *snarls*). *Jackass*; 1. *somaro*; *tanghero*, *goffone* ("so-maro" or 'ciuco' is correct, but "tanghero" means *lout*, see *H.*, and "goffone" means *very clumsy*, *very awkward*, not *asinine* at all). *Kerosene*; *cerosina*, *cherosino* (both words, omitted by *Cr.*, *R. F.* and *Ed.*, are not in general use. Why not the common word 'petrolio,' even though kerosene is a refined form of petroleum?). *Meagre*; *gretto* (no: "gretto" means *stingy*; *meagre* is 'magro,' archaic form 'macro,' lean, cf. Dante, *Par.* xxv, 3.: "Sì che m'ha fatto per più anni *macro*"). *Moss*; *muschio*, (or 'musco,' but more common 'borraccina,' see *Tom.*, *R. F.*, *Pet.*). *Picture card*; *figura* ("figura" means *figure*, *picture*, *illustration*; 'cartolina illustrata' in the sense of *picture postal card*). *Quarrel*; 1. *rissa*, *disputa* (the order is misleading, "rissa" being more a *brawl*. See *H.* under *brawl*, and add 'lite,' 'litigio'). *Quick-witted*; *scaltro*, (*Web.* defines as *having ready wit*, viz. 'pronto,' 'sveglio,' 'spiritoso,' more than "scaltro" which means *cunning*. For archaic meaning of *adept* see *Tasso*, *Ger. Lib.*, i, 39). *Ranch*; *rancio* (inadequate. This word is also inadequately explained and not translated by *Ed.* and omitted by *Bar.* *Ranch* being an American term cannot be translated, and "rancio" means *soldier's food*, *mess*,

see *H.* under *rancio*). *Sag*; piegarsi in giù (yes, and even 'cedere'). *Saying*; motto, detto (also 'sentenza'). *Scaffolding*; impalcamento (add 'impalcatura,' see *Tom.*, *R. F.*, poorly explained by *Ed.*). *Tickle*; solleticare, . . . (also 'fare il solletico,' or 'il pizzicore'). *Vaudeville*; operetta, canzonetta (as the word is used in this country: 'spettacolo di varietà'). *Wool-gathering*; l'almanaccare, sbadataggine (better 'distrazione,' and as an adj. 'distratto,' 'stordito,' cf. Fr. *étourdi*).

Here again it must be admitted that the omissions are not very important; I might mention a few useful words:

Chore; 'faccenda,' see *Web.* and *H.* *Drummer*; as a commercial traveller, 'commesso viaggiatore,' see *Web.* and *M. Gump*; see *Web.*, 'cretino,' 'grullo.' *Handle-bar*; see *Web.*, 'manubrio,' see *H.*—even though bicycles are out of fashion. *Idiosyncrasy*; a very hard word to translate, perhaps 'eccentricità,' or 'caratteristica eccentrica.' *Loaf*; *loafer*; are omitted by *Ed.*; *Bar*. translates the second curiously as "cavalier d'industria," which is closer to 'jack of all trades' combined with a sort of shiftlessness. *Loafer* is 'fanullone,' or better 'fannullone,' see *Cr. R. F.*, *Pet.* *Monkey-wrench*; see *Web.* 'chiave inglese.' *Prompter*; 'suggeritore.'

Also I must mention a few words which are difficult, when not actually impossible to translate, such as, for instance, *cosy*, *darling*, *nice*, *moccasin*, *scalp*. There is one very amusing definition: "goody-goody, molto morale e molto stupido"! Which goes to prove how well Mr. Hoare understands the Latin point of view.

There are a few slips of the pen that Mr. Hoare will surely be glad to know of: under *dingy*, "sbiadato" for 'sbiadito'; under *example*, "esamplare" for 'esemplare'; under *expect*, "it was to be expected, era d'aspettarsi," for 'era da aspettarsi,' where an elision would suggest 'di' instead of the correct 'da'; under *paper-chase*, "caccia dopo dei pezzettini di carta"—not "dopo" but 'a,' or 'dietro a.'

The reviewer had the intention of ending with a list of especially well translated words, but he found too great a quantity. He must therefore leave it to all who use this Dictionary to have the repeatedly satisfying sensation of observing so admirable a piece of work. To all students and lovers of Italian he recommends it most eagerly, and to the erudite author he heartily sends both congratulations and thanks.

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Die altenglischen Rätsel (Die Rätsel des Exeterbuchs), herausgegeben, erläutert und mit Wörterverzeichnis versehen von Moritz Trautmann. (Alt- und mittelenglische Texte herausgegeben von L. Morsbach und F. Holthausen. No. 8.) Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung; New York, G. E. Stechert & Co. 1915. Pp. xx + 203.

There is probably no scholar alive who has devoted more of his time to the study of the Old English Riddles than Moritz Trautmann, the veteran Anglist, now professor emeritus, of the University of Bonn. Evidently he was attracted by the enigmatic character of those remarkable poems which allowed full sway to the exercise of scholarly ingenuity and kept him pondering on solutions and textual tangles for a period of some thirty years. After many delays, and in the face of difficulties, yet with a youngster's enthusiasm, he now offers his edition of the Riddles as a final fruit of his labors on what has been described by another editor as "the most difficult text in the field of Anglo-Saxon."

It is well known that Professor Trautmann, in several respects, holds views distinctly and implicitly his own. But the fact that this edition is included in the series of *Alt- und mittelenglische Texte* seems to indicate that the differences between him and other scholars are greater in theory than in practice. Occasionally, it is true, Holthausen and Trautmann disagree on what may or may not be permissible in the system of Anglo-Saxon versification, but on the whole the edition has been made to fit in well enough into the general scheme of the series.

In conformity with the plan carried out in previous numbers, this volume contains only a brief Introduction, setting forth concisely the main facts relating to the investigation of the Riddles, its history and net results as seen by the editor. A fuller account of various matters of this kind appeared simultaneously in the form of separate papers published in *Anglia*, xxxviii, and *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, xxv. On the other hand, an extensive bibliography of eleven pages has been provided in order to put the student in possession of the requisite critical apparatus for independent investigation. The titles of books and papers are entered in chronological order under the names of the respective authors, which are listed alphabetically. Without denying the advantages of such an arrangement, I cannot help thinking that a systematic, topical bib-

liography, with, here and there, a word of criticism or comment, perhaps even some Baedeker stars added for guidance, would be a still more serviceable tool in the hands of those for whom the book has been intended.

The copious notes (pp. 65-142) are given up almost entirely to the discussion of textual matters, critical and interpretational, which includes, of course, a defense of the solutions adopted or proposed. Regarding these, honest difference of opinion is still found possible in more than one instance. When we bear in mind that as widely varying solutions of individual Riddles have been put forth as Harp, Shield, Scabbard, Cross, Sword-rack (No. 53, according to Trautmann's numbering), or Wandering Minstrel, Riddle, Moon, Spirit (No. 93), and that Trautmann himself offered the four successive answers of Hailstones, Rain-drops, Storm-clouds, Black Martins (No. 55), we may indeed derive comfort from the discovery that in a fairly large number of cases a practical consensus of opinion has been attained by this time. That Trautmann in the course of his long career felt constrained repeatedly to change his views on cardinal questions of interpretation is a striking illustration of the limitations and instability of our knowledge. Indeed, few of us are spared that kind of experience and the resultant practical lesson in modesty and resignation.

An interesting point relating to the riddle makers' method suggests itself incidentally in connection with Riddle 13 (Tupper's No. 16, Wyatt's No. 15), for which Trautmann has accepted Dietrich's solution 'Badger.' Remarking, in an Appendix (p. 202), on Holt-hausen's suggestion to change *swift ic eom on fēþe*, l. 2 to *swift ic neom on fēþe*, the editor rightly objects that such a negation of a quality is far less likely than a corresponding positive statement. But from this it does not necessarily follow that the conjectured *söft* or *sēfte* is to be substituted for the *swift* of the ms. Even granting that the description is not correct,—absolute accuracy can hardly be expected and was probably not intended in every instance,—may not the author have felt justified in endowing the 'hero' of his poem with an abundance of more or less strikingly commendable qualities?

The treatment of the text is in general more conservative than might have been expected. No doubt, those of a cautious turn of mind will find many more emendations than they consider neces-

sary. At the same time, it must be admitted, that these poems, by their very nature, team with puzzles, obscurities, and difficulties which make a 'standard' text seem a rather remote possibility. Nor need the frivolous remark be suppressed that in the case of some Riddles the weary critic feels like falling in with Wyatt's wish that they were "at the bottom of the bay of Portugal." At any rate, it will be for the users of the edition in seminar classes to study the many open textual questions without prejudice and to weigh carefully the merits of the various changes which have been proposed or incorporated in the text itself.

I beg to remark quite briefly on a few selected passages only. 1, 32 (4, 2; 3, 2). *sendeð þonne under salwonge / bearm [on] brādan*. Whatever the precise meaning of *sælwong* (or *sæl-*, ms. *sal-*) may be, the dative with *under* is clearly impossible after the verb *sendeð*. As already seen by Wyatt, *under sælwonge[s] / bearm [þone, Holthausen] brādan* would make satisfactory syntax and sense.—1, 36 (4, 6; 3, 6), *nāh ic hwyrft weges*. Why should the genitive, *i. e. hwyrftiweges*, after *nāh* be considered strange? It would not be the only instance. Similarly, *e. g.*, *nāt* is followed by the genitive in *Beow.* 681: *nāt hē þāra gōda*.—1, 97 (4, 67; 3, 67), *Swā ic þrymful þēow þrāgum winne*. It seems a legitimate question whether *þrāg* may not be meant here in the sense of 'hardship' (cf. *Mod. Phil.* III, 254), and a like question is still more pertinent with regard to *þrāgbysig* 2, 1, since neither 'busy at times' nor 'periodically employed' is exactly a convincing rendering; the compounds *synbysig*, *nýdysig* could be appealed to for support.—9, 3 ff. Trautmann prints: *Ic dysge dwelle ond dole hwette; / unrādsiþas ōþrum stýre / nyttre fōre*. I still believe my interpretation, *Beibl.* XVII, 300 f. quite possible; the construction of *hwettan* with the genitive of the thing, *dole hwette / unrādsiþas* (gen. sing.), though not recorded elsewhere and less obvious than *on* with accusative or *tō* with dative (as in *Andr.* 286 f.: *ūsic lust hweteð on þā leodmearce . . . tō þāre māran byrig*), might be compared to an expression like *wāron aescwigan . . . siðes gefýsde*, *El.* 259 f. In fact, a genitive construction is found to interchange with *on* and *tō*, as in *Guðl.* 1023 *forðsiðes fūs*, *ib.* 1121 *fūsne on forðsið*; *Beow.* 2118 *gearo gyrnwræce*, *ib.* 1109 *on bāl gearu*; *El.* 23 *gearwe tō gūðe*. That *unrādsiþas* on syntactical grounds cannot be included in the same clause with *stýre*, has been properly remarked by Tupper.—A

typical case is presented by l. 9, the real *crux* and the key to the solution of this Riddle (9): (*wā him þas þēawes*) *sippan hēah* (ms.) *bringeð horda dēorast* (*gif hī unrādes ār ne geswīcaþ*). As it stands, no satisfactory sense can be extracted from the text; an emendation must be ventured, and upon it will depend the final decision in the issue between 'wine' and 'night.' Trautmann's *hearm* or *hēaf bringeð* is a tempting guess, but does not quite agree with *horda dēorast*. If by the latter expression we understand, with Bright, 'the soul' (cf. *sāwle hord*, *Beow.* 2422), or perhaps, 'the accumulated good deeds' (cf. *ðonne forlýst hē eall his ærran good, būton hē hit eft gebēte*, *Boet.* 103, 20 f.), a conjectural change like *hēan gebringeð* might possibly be given a hearing. But who would dogmatize about such guesses?—14, 2, *somod wið þām sēcce*. The assumption of a weak verb *sēccan*, which would render the insertion of *fremman* unnecessary, need not be considered far-fetched. As *sacan* is found by the side of *sacu*, a weak verb *sēccan* may have been in existence in connection with the noun *sēcc*. As *sēcc* is used much more rarely than *sacu*, the scanty record of *sēccan* is not particularly surprising.—24, 17, *dolwice* does not look like an improvement on *dolwite*. If we regard *dolwite* as a reference to the pains of hell (Tupper), the term presents a fairly acceptable contrast to *dryhtfolca helm*. Does *dolwite* denote (eternal) punishment meted out to a *dolsceaða*?—25, 13, *strong on sprēce* is not inappropriate with reference to an intoxicated person, if we take *strong* as 'fierce,' 'wild,' 'excited.'—52, 9. Trautmann is entirely right in retaining *þon* after *ār* (instead of changing it into the common *þonne*), since the existence of this form is sufficiently established. A note on this point has been added in the Glossary.—79, 8. The normalization of *stondende* to *stondend[n]e* is hardly called for, as the participle is quite frequently left uninflected.

The Glossary (pp. 143-201), which is very full, gives evidence of much careful work. It includes numerous etymologies. That the *æ* has been treated as an independent letter and is not merged with the *a*, has been noticed with especial satisfaction. The popular way of inserting the *æ* between *ad* and *af* is indeed a custom more honour'd in the breach than the observance.

A pleasant surprise is the addition of sixteen facsimile plates showing pp. 105 a, 109 b, 122 b, 124 b-130 b of the ms. in reduced size.

Students of Anglo-Saxon now have at their service three separate editions of the Riddles published within five years and representing three different series of Texts,—and there is room for each one of them. Trautmann's edition has been put into shape with a view to serve as a basis for seminar exercises. It seems well adapted to that purpose.

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A Spanish Grammar for Beginners. By M. A. DEVITIS. Boston: Allyn and Bacon. 1915.

The present great war raging beyond the seas has already caused a great number of readjustments in human affairs: not the least among these is the extraordinary stimulus given to the study of Spanish. Colleges that two years ago had from fifteen to twenty-five students in first year Spanish now enroll in the same classes two and three hundred. Moreover, any number of high schools are introducing Spanish because of local demand, and the classes are decidedly popular. The sudden breaking off of all commercial intercourse between Germany and South America made the United States the fitting country to take the place of the former. The commercial possibilities thus opened create a demand for a practical knowledge of Spanish, altho it is a question whether the demand is sufficient to encourage greater interest, or even as much as is now displayed.

To meet this very situation, Professor M. A. DeVitis of the St. Louis High Schools, has published a grammar that is both practical and attractive. Altho there have been two or three other excellent grammars previously in use, this book has peculiar merit in that it is divided into lessons of the proper length, of proper gradation, and yet is sufficiently complete, tho not overburdened as are some of its predecessors. Of the fifty lessons, every seventh is a review, making forty-three distinct divisions in the treatment of the various parts of grammar. A commendable point is the full treatment (in seven lessons) of the subjunctive, the greatest stumbling-block for the beginner in Spanish: the usage also of the prepositions, *por*, *para*, *a*, *de*, *con*, is treated in greater detail than is usual.

The sentences at the end of each lesson illustrate excellently the grammar rules of that lesson, but the suggested conversational questions after the exercises far too frequently incorporate the interrogatives *¿no?*, *¿verdad?*, and *¿no es verdad?*, allowing the student to reply by simply saying *sí* or *no* and repeating the words of the teacher. This would not be objectionable for the earliest lessons, but later it is far too mechanical: a revised edition should certainly be remedied in this part on which rests one of the principal claims of the grammar to being practical. It should be noted, however, that the questions are merely suggestive and not exhaustive, as stated in the preface.

Attractiveness is given the book by some twenty full-page half-tones of prominent buildings in Spain and Spanish America, as the Alhambra at Granada, the Giralda in Seville, the Cathedral in Mexico City, the Plaza Mayo in Buenos Aires. Brief descriptions of these in the text give life to the reading as well as illustrate the grammatical rules. Another worthy point is the placing of a *proverbio* or *dicho popular* at the heading of each lesson.

Among other agreeable features of Mr. DeVitis' book is the inclusion of 119 "frases para la clase," immediately after the satisfactory introduction, which contains the usual explanations as to pronunciation, punctuation and capitalizing; and also the writing of the review lessons in Spanish, with questions in Spanish based thereon.

The appendices contain full paradigms of the regular and irregular verbs, discussions of social and epistolary usages, and a rather brief (perhaps too brief) treatment of the augmentatives and diminutives. In addition, there is a sixteen page appendix explaining Spanish commercial terms and illustrated by model business letters. This latter feature is decidedly a practical one and worthy of the claim made for it by the author.

The vocabulary contains primarily words of common, everyday usage, the knowledge of which is important also to the person who is studying Spanish simply for the purpose of reading the literature. A criticism at this point would be that all words listed in the individual lesson vocabularies should be included also in the general vocabulary at the end of the book, especially if the word is repeated in lessons following the vocabulary in which it was first introduced.

In a recent complete study of the grammar with a college class, the following mistakes in proof-reading were noted:

P. 9: omission of *and uncle* at end of sentence 18. P. 45: *Haber* for *Hacer* in title of §67. P. 51: omission of accent on *Éste* in second sentence under (d). P. 52: under section (i), a comma should be inserted at end of second line, and 'a' after 'or' in third line. P. 78: in the vocabulary under *el tabaco*, 'estanco' should be black face type. P. 88: in the paradigm for the future of *hablar*, accent over *i* instead of *e*. P. 119: in the vocabulary the reference after *parecer* should be (§118, e) instead of (§118, j). P. 122: *algodón* should be *algodón*, in the vocabulary. P. 124: *to* omitted as infinitive sign in last idiom in §163. P. 129: *interesantisimas* should be 'interesantísimas.' P. 150: *was* for *is* in sentence 11. P. 151: period for question mark in second illustrative sentence under §191. P. 153: in vocabulary, *arquitectónica*, *a* for *arquitectónico*, *a*. P. 182: *visitimos* for *visitamos* in first example under (c). P. 195: *hacienda* for *haciendo* in first sentence under (c). P. 197: *cuesta* for *costó*.

As Mr. DeVitis frankly says in his preface, some grammatical explanations are stated in terms meant for beginners who may have forgotten their English grammar. This is unquestionably a justifiable attitude, altho a recent study of French, or Latin, or of both is generally presupposed in college classes. But three grammatical statements seem to lack clearness: § 98 (p. 68) would imply that *querer*, *poder*, etc., are used only in the imperfect whereas, of course, they are given a few pages later with their preterite forms; p. 109, "Ciento agrees in gender with the following noun" is not a happy expression, as the reference is only to usage with plurals; p. 147, the first part of § 188 seems to repeat that of § 187.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Two SOURCES OF THE *Tragicomedia alegorica del parayso y del infierno*¹

It has been pointed out elsewhere² that the principal source of the *Tragicomedia* is the *Auto da Barca do Inferno* of Gil Vicente. Certain passages in the Spanish play, however, indicate that the

¹ The references to the *Tragicomedia* are to the edition in Cronan's *Teatro español del siglo xvi*, Madrid, 1913; those to the *Barca* are to the edition in vol. I of Vicente's *Obras*, Lisbon, 1843.

² *Modern Philology*, March, 1916, pp. 669-680.

author was influenced by other writers. We shall examine, briefly, these passages.

Menéndez y Pelayo (in *Antología*, VII, CLXXXVII) says that the *Diálogo entre Mercurio y Carón*, of Juan Valdés, influenced the author of the *Tragicomedia*. It may be worth while to note just what that influence is.

In the *Barca* (pp. 216 and 220) and in the Spanish play (ll. 241-247) the nobleman thinks his wife is sad on account of his death. The devil, in each case, assures him that on the contrary she is quite happy, indeed in the *Tragicomedia* the nobleman is told that his wife is again at her "vicios, en lugar no muy honesto" (254-5). The nobleman in the *Barca* has a *dama querida* who, he thinks, will kill herself on account of his death (p. 219), but the devil tells him

Pois estando tu spirando,
Se estava ella reuebrando
Com outro de menos preço.

(p. 220).

We may compare this with the following passage in the *Diálogo*:— "A[nima = obispo] Una cosa te quiero rogar: que, si viniere por aqui una dama muy hermosa que se llama Lucrecia, que la ayas por encomendada. C[arón]; Quien es essa Lucrecia? A. Tenialo yo en mi casa para mi recreacion, y soy cierto que, como sepa mi muerte, luego se matará. C. No tengas déssó cuidado, que yo te prometo que no le falte otro obispo como tu." (Boehmer edition. In *Rom. Studien*, VI, 29, 17-22.) Another priest in the *Diálogo* had a *dama*; he is a *sacerdote* of whom *Mercurio* asks: "¿Como, y tenias que hacer con mugeres? A[nima = sacerdote] Algunas veces, vencido de la carne, mas procurava de hacerlo muy secreto" (*Diálogo*, 52, 11-12).

Another point of resemblance between the Spanish play and the *Diálogo* is the following. In the *Diálogo* (16, 19-20) the *abogado* says: "Cata que yo era cristiano; y recibi siendo niño el bautismo y despues la confirmacion, confessavame" etc. In the *Tragicomedia* (344-5) the *fidalgo* says:

Cata que soy baptizado,
Y me llaman don Martin.

And just above (340):

Christiano soy, que no moro.

In both cases the statement is made as an argument against being compelled to go to the *infierno*. This point is not made in the *Barca*.

And again: the *Tragicomedia* (412-535) develops the idea of the usurer's money buying him salvation, which is barely mentioned in the *Barca* (pp. 221-2). In the Spanish play the usurer says he bought, for two *reales*, a papal bull which he had been told would assure him entrance into heaven. The *Barca* does not mention the bull. Valdés, in the *Diálogo*, has *Mercurio* tell of the greed of the

clergy, he being asked for money when he wished to receive the host, and when he tried to enter another church he was not allowed to go in because he had no papal bull, which cost two *reales*.³ The name *Caron* in the *Tragicomedia* (p. 274) may have been suggested by the name in the title of Valdés' work. The corresponding character in the *Barca* is called simply *companheiro do diabo* (p. 215).

In addition to the *Diálogo* the author of our play seems to have known the *Danza de la Muerte*. The *bobo* of the Spanish play, speaking to the *corregidor* and *procurador*, as they approach the angel's boat, says:

Traen muy mucha cagalera;
vienen, segun su manera,
muy cargados
de sus culpas y peccados.

Abogado

Traemos, yo te prometo,
Baldo, Bartholo y Moreto,
yotros libros acotados.

(1338-1344)

The devil in the *Danza de la Muerte*, stanza XLIII, replying to the *abogado* says:

El Cino e el Bartolo e el Coletario
non vos librarán de mi poder mero.

Although these jurisconsults were known in the fifteenth century,⁴ it is hardly a coincidence that the same word, 'Bartolo,' should occur under similar circumstances in the two somewhat similar works. Neither the *Barca* nor the *Diálogo* contains such a passage.

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GEORGE MEREDITH'S USE OF A FRENCH SOURCE

An important incident in *Harry Richmond* appears to have a French source. When a midnight meeting of the hero and his German princess is interrupted by the latter's duenna, who rings a bell to alarm the household, the scandal, which seemed imminent, is prevented by Richmond Roy's cleverly setting fire to the curtains and thus explaining the presence of all concerned.¹ Simi-

³ See the *Diálogo*, 8, 17-25. The bull is mentioned in the *Diálogo* also by the *abogado*: 16, 29; 18, 21-22, where it does not avail him anything. Disrespect for the bull is shown in the *Diálogo*, 67, 15-22, where a soul in Carón's boat is ordered to throw overboard a bull because the lead seal is too heavy.

⁴ See *Mod. Lang. Notes*, April, 1912, p. 123; *Rom. Review*, III, 416. Moreto in our text is probably due to the rime.

¹ The *Cornhill Magazine*, 1871, vol. XXIII, pp. 414, 612; *The Works of George Meredith*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910, vol. X, p. 48.

larly in Léon de Wailly's *Angelica Kauffmann*, Sir Francis Shelton, after forcing his way one night into the heroine's atelier and making love to her with such violence that she is obliged to break the window and call for help, explains his presence by applying a torch to the curtains, or, to quote, "Aux yeux d'Angelica immobile de stupeur, il saisit un flambeau et met le feu aux rideaux."²

Meredith was, of course, well acquainted with French literature. De Wailly's historical romance, which appeared originally in 1838,³ was republished in 1859. Five years later Meredith spent some time in Paris. *Harry Richmond* was composed in 1869 and 1870. There was consequently ample opportunity for him to read *Angelica Kauffmann* before he wrote the scene I have mentioned. His taste would prevent his following de Wailly far, but it would not hinder his plucking from this sentimental novel so striking an incident as the one described. There remains the possibility that de Wailly, who was primarily a translator and adapter, derived the incident from a third work that may also have inspired Meredith, but such a common source, if it exists, is still to be discovered. At present we can do no better than to credit de Wailly with the invention of this lively episode.

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THE CRISIS: A SERMON

Since the time of Nichols and his *Literary Anecdotes* no copy of this pamphlet has been accessible to students of the period; but from external evidence it has generally been regarded as the work of Henry Fielding. An excellent copy has recently been discovered by F. S. Dickson, Esq., of New York; and thanks to his kindness, I have had the opportunity to examine the pamphlet. It is a twenty-page octavo and bears this title:

The Crisis: A Sermon, On Revel. XIV, 9, 10, 11.
 Necessary to be preached in all the Churches
 in England, Wales, and Berwick upon Tweed, at
 or before the next General Election. Humbly
 inscribed to the Right Reverend the Bench of
 Bishops. By a Lover of his Country. *Vendidit*
hic auro Patriam. Virg. London: Printed for
 A. Dodd, without Temple-Bar; E. Nutt, at the Royal
 Exchange, and H. Chapelle, in Grosvenor-Street.
 MDCCXLI. (Price Six-pence.)

At the outset the writer explains that his text concerns prostitution for hire, and under the first head of his discourse tells his readers that he who sells the liberties of his country, of his

² Edition of 1859, Paris, Hachette, 2 vols., 12°, vol. I, p. 343.

³ Paris, Dupont, 2 vols., 8°.

children, or of himself, is guilty of such prostitution. Under his second head he attempts to dissuade his brethren from making this mad bargain; and under his third head he warns them against the devilish political party that now stood ready to buy the liberties of the people.

" You will now within a few Days elect Representatives to serve you in the ensuing Parliament. In other Words, you are to commit the Care of your Liberties, and Properties; the Interest and Safety of yourselves, your Wives, and your Children, to Trustees, who will have it actually in their power to preserve or betray what ought to be so dear to you . . . "

He urges his readers to defeat the work of the Devil by praying to God, by appealing to the Prince, and by choosing honorable representatives. Obviously this is directed against Walpole and his crew.

External evidence as to the authorship of this pamphlet has not been lacking:

" This Sermon was written by the late Mr. Fielding, Author of *Tom Jones*, &c. &c. as the printer of it assured me. R. B."

The statement is found in a passage on p. 446 of vol. 8 of Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes* (1814), and has led Lawrence (*Life of Fielding*, p. 145) and other biographers of Fielding to believe that this lost pamphlet might be his work; but other proof has been lacking. Unfortunately the identity of 'R. B.' is undiscovered and the value of the evidence is uncertain.

We may assume, however, that Fielding was capable of writing this sermon—he knew his Bible thoroughly and could write in an eloquent sermonizing style; his *Apology for the Clergy* in the *Champion* affords ample proof of his powers in this direction. Knowing that Fielding was an ardent member of the Opposition and that he took every means to urge the voters at this crisis to avoid the temptation to sell once more into the hands of Walpole their own liberties and those of the country, we may be sure that Fielding had every reason for writing such a pamphlet.

Concerning this Mr. Dobson writes (*Life of Fielding*, London, 1907, p. 72):

" . . . provided it can be placed before this date [the end of June, 1741], he may be credited with a political sermon called the *Crisis*. . . ."

In other words, Mr. Dobson is ready to accept the statement found in Nichols' *Anecdotes*, provided it can be shown that the work appeared during the period in which Fielding was publishing pamphlets anonymously. As a matter of fact, *The Crisis* is listed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1741) in the 'Register of Books' for April of that year, and is cited in the May issue. The text itself, as quoted above, and an announcement in the *London Magazine* for April, furnish further proof that the pamphlet was issued shortly before the General Election in April. The work may, therefore, be Fielding's.

Internal proof of Mr. Dobson's statement is very difficult to discover. The pamphlet has Fielding's customary word-usage—*hath*, *doth*, etc.—except in one instance (p. 7) where we find *has*; but such usage might be expected in a sermon, and we may not accept this as conclusive evidence. Generally, however, Fielding's contemporaries preferred the more modern usage, and we may say, therefore, that the presence of the older usage creates a presumption in favor of the assumption that the work is Fielding's.

But if the work is his, Fielding has very completely disguised his natural style. The sermon lacks his wit and epigrammatic force. In fact it is very dull reading. No one on reading the work for the first time would exclaim, "Fielding!—!" It contains, however, a few vigorous passages which suggest Fielding's style. Take, for instance:

"... he must not only be a Villain, but a Fool too, who makes [such a bargain]."

"But if there be a Person, the Hardness of whose Heart or Head, will receive no Impression. . . ."

"... a Torrent of Corruption. . . ."

Such passages, in view of our external evidence, support in some slight degree the general assumption; but unfortunately I have not discovered further internal proof.¹

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MILTON'S *L'Allegro* AND *Il Penseroso*

Mr. F. M. Darnall, writing in the January (1916) number of this journal, finds it difficult to account for the fact that "Charles Diodati has never been mentioned as the possible model for Milton's *L'Allegro*." He quotes from the letters of the two friends and concludes that these "reveal opposite natures that correspond respectively to the characters portrayed in *Il Penseroso* and *L'Allegro*; one studious, serious; the other light-hearted, nature-loving." Finally, he suggests that the Italian titles of the poems may likewise be accounted for by the friendship between Milton and Diodati.

It seems to me not difficult to understand why this suggestion has not appeared before. I imagine that others may have thought of it, but that on further consideration of the evidence they have felt that the suggestion does not rest upon solid ground. I believe this to be so for several reasons. In the first place, as Moody points out (Cambridge *Milton*, p. 23) it is very probable that Milton found the suggestion for the contrasting pictures of *L'Allegro* and *Il Pen-*

¹ It is very interesting to note that in three instances the author uses *have drank*. I have never seen this usage in Fielding's works.

seroso in the course of his reading at Horton. The idea appears clearly enough in certain verses of Burton's, prefixed to the *Anatomy of Melancholy* and entitled *The Author's Abstract of Melancholy, or A Dialogue between Pleasure or Pain*. Moody suggests that Milton may have been thinking also of a song from Beaumont and Fletcher's play, *Nice Valour*. At any rate the contrast between Milton's two poems is so close to that implied in Burton's verses that one need hardly go so far afield as to seek in the character of Diodati an "extraneous suggestion" for *L'Allegro*. Again, that the young poet and scholar Milton gave Italian titles to some of his poems surely requires no accounting for "on the ground of his friendship with the Italian youth."

But there is a more obvious difficulty still in Mr. Darnall's suggestion, for to grant it one must grant that Milton had to go beyond his own interests and his own personality to seek in Diodati a model for *L'Allegro*. Here Mr. Darnall falls into a time-honored error. He thinks of Milton only as a soul that dwelt apart, and ignores the young poet's wholesomely normal love of youthful color, beauty, and animation—the *L'Allegro* spirit, in short—which glows through so many of his Latin elegies to Diodati. To grant that Milton's disposition was more serious than that of Diodati, and that Milton himself says so in the sixth Latin elegy, to which Mr. Darnall refers—is one thing; to overlook the joyous youthfulness of the first, fifth, and seventh elegy (Moody, pp. 323, 333, 340) is another. Everyone remembers the paean to the virgins of Britain in the first elegy, the glad welcome to spring in the fifth, and the fine frankness of the confession in the seventh:

"Crowds of girls, with faces like to goddesses, came and went radiantly through the walks; the day brightened with a double splendor. Surely the sun himself stole his beam from their faces. I was not stern with myself; I did not flee from the gracious spectacle, but let myself be led wherever youthful impulse directed. Rashly I sent my gaze to meet theirs; I could not control my eyes. Then by chance I noted one supreme above the others, and the light of her eyes was the beginning of my illa . . . I burned only with love; I was all flame." (Moody's translation, p. 341.)

These verses, of course, came a few years before *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*; but the year that produced these two poems brought also the *Sonnet to the Nightingale* and the *Song to*

The flowery May, who from her green lap throws
The yellow cowslip and the pale primrose.
Hail bounteous May that dost inspire
Mirth and youth and warm desire!

Surely Milton shows in these poems, not to speak of the fourth and fifth books of *Paradise Lost*, that he did not need the character of Diodati to suggest to him the spirit of *L'Allegro*.

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MILTON AND THOMSON

Professor Saintsbury (*A Short History of English Literature*, p. 569), says of Thomson's poetic diction:

"But he shared, and rather went beyond, the predilection of that school [the Augustan School] for a peculiar stilted 'poetic diction,' partly founded on the classicalism of Milton, *but largely tempered from less genuine sources*. Nobody, who has the slightest tincture of catholic poetic taste, can defend such a phrase as

See where the winding vale its lavish store
Irriguous spreads, [Spring, 492.]

which is on a par with the worst fashionable faults of any time."

The obvious implication is that the citation clearly proves that portion of Saintsbury's charge which I have italicized. These lines, then, are offered as a flagrant illustration of Thomson's use of a poetic diction "tempered from less genuine sources" than Milton: in other words, of "pseudo-classic" poetic diction. In view of this charge it is perhaps worth while to compare the line quoted by Professor Saintsbury with *Paradise Lost*, iv, 254:

or the flowery lap
Of some irriguous valley spread her store.

Obviously Thomson is here following a no less genuine source than Milton himself, and one suspects that Professor Saintsbury, like other critics, does not fully realize to how large a degree Thomson's "pseudo-classicism" is really Miltonism. Much the same may perhaps be said for a large part of Thomson's "romanticism." An examination of the following passage, often cited as one of the most truly "romantic" in Thomson, shows it to be full of Miltonic imagery:

To glimmering shades and sympathetic glooms
Where the dun umbrage o'er the fallen stream
Romantic hangs. [Spring, 1023.]

... glimmering bowers and glades
... and secret shades [Il Penseroso, 27.]

The shady gloom [Hymn on the Nativity, 77.]

... dun shades [Comus, 127.]

On summer eves by haunted stream

[L'Allegro, 130.]

These parallels are not noted by Zippel in his critical edition of the *Seasons* (Palæstra, LXVI). They are but two of many illustrations that might be cited to prove that a very large part of Thomson's "pseudo-classicism" and "romanticism" was nothing more or less than Miltonism.

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THE SOURCES OF GREENE'S *Orlando Furioso*

The opinion of scholars concerning the sources of Greene's *Orlando Furioso* is that the dramatist borrowed little more than the title of his play and the name of his characters from the great poem then at the height of its fame. The layman naturally wonders why anyone should content himself with a mere handful from a king's treasury. What do we actually know about the matter?

For one thing, we know that practically every situation in Greene's *Orlando Furioso* has its analogue in Ariosto's. Thus in the play Angelica brings war upon her lenient father by choosing from "an embassy of suitors," as one scholar calls them, the least exalted of their number, Count Orlando, who, however, promptly appears before the castle of one of them and after sending in a fruitless challenge by a sentry storms the place and without pausing to take part in the massacre of the garrison pursues his rival to the death; the other competitors he deals with similarly later. In the poem (Canto IX) the Princess Olympia similarly brings war upon an equally lenient father by keeping her faith to the young Duke of Zealand despite the representations of an embassy of distinguished men who request her hand in behalf of the King of Frisia; whereupon Orlando, who happens by, appears before the King's city, and after sending in a fruitless challenge by a sentry storms the place and "taking no notice of the common herd" pursues the King to his death. In the play one of the rejected suitors, the crafty Sacrifiant, causes Angelica to be banished, then condemned to death by her father, by falsely representing her as unchastely faithless to Orlando, who, however, rescues her, clears her name, and wrings confession and life from her accuser. In the poem (Canto IV) another scheming aspirant to the hand of another princess attempts precisely the same thing (and incidentally furnishes Shakespeare with the similar episode in *Much Ado About Nothing*); whereupon the knight Rinaldo wrings confession and life from him, having first rescued the princess's maid from ruffians in a forest precisely as Orlando, in the play, rescues Angelica. In both play and poem Orlando goes mad when he becomes convinced that Angelica is false to him. In both play and poem he recovers in exactly three months.

Now Greene was thoroughly familiar with this material when between 1588 and 1590 he wrote his play. He quotes in the original from Canto XXI in *Francesco's Fortunes* and from Canto XXVI in *The Spanish Masquerado*; he takes from Canto XXXIV the story of Lydia in his *Orpharion*: he twice alludes to Canto XIX in *Alcida*; he gives us as translated from the poem three stanzas in *Penelope's Web*.

Greene was not only familiar with the poem; he had it fresh in memory, if indeed not actually before him, at the time I speak of.

In his play itself he quotes in the original from Canto **xxvii** (Act II, Scene 1), accurately translates from Canto xv (Act I, Scene 1), paraphrases the description, in Canto **xli**, of Orlando's helmet, and so closely follows the description of Orlando's attempts at self-delusion in Canto **xxiii** that it amounts to paraphrasing (Act II, Scene 1).

All this established, the opinion I am discussing may be re-stated as follows: Greene took the title of his play, the names of his characters, and various descriptive details from a famous poem which he had thoroughly and freshly in mind; then created situations similar to those in the poem without being in any way influenced by it in so doing.

My question is, How did he manage it? Never mind what other suggestions contributed, How did this one come to be excluded? If, after I have been reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a travelled friend calls on me and describes the parting of husbands from wives, mothers from children, in no matter what slave-mart, shall I recall nothing? And if I set about writing up my friend's account, shall I receive no promptings from what I have read? True, that account may be so vivid and circumstantial as completely to overshadow Mrs. Stowe's pages; or I may deliberately seek to put them out of my mind, as indeed some of us often have. But is it common sense to presume that this was the case with Greene? What could more powerfully suggest to him the peculiar atmosphere of his play than a work which was then "the most famous romance poem of Europe"? And why should he deliberately reject suggestions from it? If in the sixties someone had written a play entitled *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, would he have thought it expedient to exclude precisely what his public would be led to expect?

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TWO NOTES ON CHAUCER

(1) Koeppel,¹ commenting on Schick's suggestion² that Chaucer's "Anelida" probably refers to the same character of romance as the "Analida" of the Italian poem, *L'Intelligenz(i)a*,³ and the "Alydes" of Froissart's *Dit dou Bleu Chevalier*, proposes to read "Emony" (= Hæmonia, that is, Thessaly) for "Ermony." There is, however, no difficulty in assuming that Chaucer had in mind

¹ *Eng. Stud.*, I, 156-8; cf. Tatlock, *Dev. and Chron. of Chaucer's Works*, p. 86, note 1.

² Lydgate, *Temple of Glass*, ed. Schick, p. cxx, note.

³ Cf. Gaspari, *Ital. Lit. to the Death of Dante*, pp. 199-202.

Armenia, since the *Roman de Thèbes* (ca. 1150) already has (3871-2):

Li tierz, qui meine la reine,
Fu fiz Hergart, le rei d'Ermine;

and this son of the king of Armenia is one of three who are of the best of Thebes.⁴ We must not forget, too, that Chaucer's "Lyeys" (*K. T.* 58) was in Lesser Armenia (cf. my paper, *The Historical Background of Chaucer's Knight*, p. 229); see also Skeat (*Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, I, 77).

(2) The "Fryse" of *Romance of the Rose* 1093 is interpreted by Skeat as "Friesland." But did Friesland ever abound in gold? It is probably Phrygia that is meant. See *Roman de Thèbes* 6630:

Nel donast por tot l'or de Frise.

Phrygia suggests Midas, the Pactolus (Lydia was anciently included in Phrygia), and embroidery in gold.

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"Look what"

Lōc(a) hwæt is used by Ælfric and Wulfstan in the sense of "whatever." I find the same use in *The Second Book of Records of the Town of Southampton, Long Island*, p. 31, in the minutes of a court held on Sept. 1, 1663: "At this said Cort Samuel King being held in examination about his deficiency in non payment of his due to ye ministry at Southold, it is determined by the Cort that *look what* is due from him, . . . his accompt shall bee demanded, and if hee . . . refuse to pay it shall then bee levyed by the cunstable."

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CHAUCER'S "LONG CASTEL"

Professor Frederick Tupper in his note on *Chaucer and Richmond* (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxi, 250 f.) has partly explained the passage which he cites from the *Book of the Duchess*. He points out that it is John, Earl of Richmond, to whom Chaucer alludes in "Johan . . . riche hil." One difficulty with the rest of the interpretation is that Professor Tupper introduces Richmond twice: first, as a "long castel," and secondly, as a "riche hil." Furthermore, it

⁴ Cf. the king of Persia (II, 4764), the king of Nubia (V, 6654), the duke of Syria (6603), etc. Boccaccio, it may be noted in passing, mentions Armenia in two of the stories of the *Decameron* (II, 7; V, 7).

would be surprising to find the wife of John of Gaunt referred to as Blanche of Richmond, when her proper title was Blanche of Lancaster.

Now, if Chaucer never punned, argument would be rendered futile at the outset. But he does occasionally indulge in false wit, as Professor Tupper shows. In "A long castel with walles whyte," he refers to Blanche of Lancaster. The equation of "whyte" with Blanche is admitted. "Long castel" for "Lancaster" is not so great a stretch as it might at first seem to be. This is substantiated as late as 1607 by a passage in Camden's *Britannia* (ed. 1695, col. 795): "The *Lone* [Lune], after it has gone some miles further, sees *Lancaster* on the south side of it, the chief town of this county, which the inhabitants call *Loncaster*, and the Scots, *Loncastell*, from the river *Lon*. Both its name at this day, and the river under it, in a manner prove it to be the *Longovicum*, where under the Lieutenant of Britain (as the *Novitia* informs us) a company of the *Longovicarians*, who took that name from the place, kept garrison." Camden's footnote to *Loncaster* adds, "This is its name in all the North part of England." Moreover, the pronunciation of *Lancashire* Camden gives as *Lonka-shire* (*Britannia*, col. 787). The pun is thus rendered obvious enough, for the pronunciation which Camden cites is undoubtedly a relic of former days. Finally, Chaucer in employing references to both John and Blanche compasses a neat balance of constructions, and this on the face of it commends the interpretation.

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BRIEF MENTION

The *Place-Names of England and Wales*. By the Rev. James R. Johnston, M. A., B. D., author of 'The Place Names of Scotland' (New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1916). An enumeration of "the modern books found most useful by the writer" (p. 529) shows that the present century has already made a liberal contribution to the extensive bibliography of this subject, which was formerly especially exposed to unscientific and untrustworthy treatment. Mr. Johnston's *Place-Names in Scotland* (2nd ed., 1903) gave him a place in the company of the scholars now reclaiming this department of investigation from its unfortunate estate, and the book now given to the public makes that place worthily conspicuous. His devotion to this study is best inferred from his own frankly personal statement. He describes himself as being "a busy minister working absolutely single-handed in a Scottish provincial town, with the oversight of a large congregation which has had the first claim upon all his time and energy and has always received it. Why then," he continues, "attempt such a task at all? Because it seemed so needful to be done. No proper con-

spectus of the whole subject has appeared hitherto; and the writer does think that through the gatherings of fully twenty years he has been able to do something." However, twenty years inevitably yield no slight aggregation of "brief and occasional visits" to the libraries of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and a visit may even be stolen from indulgent parishioners for a longer journey and less hurried visit to the Public Library at Falmouth. And the years increased his intimate communication by post with helpful scholars,—Professor Skeat is remembered with special gratitude. Mr. Johnston's manner of recording details of this character gives to them a significance that is helpful in the appreciation of his book.

The plan of this book follows that of the volume revised in 1903. There is an elaborated Introduction of nine chapters (83 pages), which contains a discussion of the subject that is indispensable to the full appreciation of the 'body' of the book; the latter is, as before, in the form of an alphabetic list, now entitled "Explanatory List of the Chief Place-Names of England and Wales" (441 pages). In the character of these two departments, the similarity to the former volume is also maintained, but under conditions of a wider subject and a correspondingly wider view. Continuance in a career of unflagging industry has increased the writer's ease in handling diversity of material and matured him in scholarship. His restraint from dogmatism has, happily, not been relaxed by increased mastery of historic and linguistic details; and altho there is noticeable a growing confidence in his own judgments, he has refined his sense for an unbiassed presentation of all accessible data and for a just estimation of the opinions of others in the case of more or less unsettled questions. Disputed points and undetermined relations between records are numerous, but Mr. Johnston's collation of evidence, tho often in highly abridged form, will serve admirably as basis for further investigations.

"The Use and Value of Place-Name Study" is the title of the first chapter of Mr. Johnston's Introduction, and the full appreciation of his second and third paragraphs will result in the most coveted acknowledgment of the value and usefulness of this book. As a side-light on history (including as a special province history that is too early or too obscure for usual treatment), and, secondly, as revealing and illustrating "racial idiosyncrasies, modes of thought, feeling, and taste," the study of place-names (which is very much involved in that of personal names) deserves profoundest attention; and Mr. Johnston supplies a highly satisfactory introduction to the various details of the method by which trustworthy principles are inferred and conclusions reached. No details illustrative of either method or result can be given here, altho it is hard to resist the attractiveness of a bit of uncovered history, or the entertainment of an overthrow of a 'popular etymology.' Only this shall be added that the student of the early records of England, from Ptolemy thru Bede, the *Chronicle*, and *Domesday*

and beyond, will find much here to his profit; and that the linguist will be inclined to collect from this book all the assumed or suggested occurrences of Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian words. Such lists would be an aid in a methodical classification of the "modes of thought" underlying names, and in the more complete definition of the meaning and use of words not in all cases well represented in surviving records. Mr. Johnston has prepared a book for which the scholar and the general reader will be thankful.

J. W. B.

Shakespeare Studies by Members of the Department of English of the University of Wisconsin to Commemorate the Three-Hundredth Anniversary of the Death of William Shakespeare, April 23, 1616. (Published by the University, Madison, 1916.) The University of Wisconsin's published contribution to the Shakespeare tercentenary celebration takes the form of eight sonnets of Shakespearean form "On the Self of William Shakespeare," by W. E. Leonard, and a round dozen of essays on topics ranging from Professor Hubbard's discussion of the relation between the pre-Shakespearean plays *Locrine* and *Selimus* to F. W. Roe's appreciative sketch, "Charles Lamb and Shakespeare." It is an attractive volume, comprising Shakespearean studies of such different kinds that it can hardly be safely neglected by students either of Shakespeare or of English dramatic criticism in general.

At least three of the papers will appeal to the minute student of sixteenth century poetry by their offering of new material. Such is Professor Hubbard's collection of evidence proving the priority of *Locrine* to *Selimus* and establishing the date, *ca.* 1591, for the earlier play. The arguments given will doubtless be accepted as convincing and as considerably more complete than any that have hitherto been advanced. Regarding the authorship of the two plays Professor Hubbard is wisely agnostic, but he appears to do rather less than justice to the theory of Greene's concern in *Selimus* in his sentence: "Grosart has tried to prove it to be the work of Greene, but his conclusion has not been generally accepted." The present writer is inclined to sympathize with the attitude expressed, but it is hardly fair to make no mention of H. Gilbert's thesis, "R. Greene's 'Selimus'" (Kiel, 1899), which adds very materially to Grosart's arguments.

Professor Karl Young prints some hitherto unpublished matter regarding the Gager-Rainolds controversy over the Oxford Latin plays of 1592, supplementing Dr. Boas's treatment in his recent *University Drama in the Tudor Age*. It is a pity that limitation of space prevented the printing of Gager's fine letter *in extenso*. Perhaps, since Professor Young has a copy of the Corpus manuscript, he will take another occasion to do so, thus making all the documents in the case finally accessible. New material is also

offered in Professor Neil Dodge's paper on "An Obsolete Elizabethan Mode of Rhyming," apparently a ripened fruit of Professor Dodge's Spenserian studies. The history of the imperfect rime, as in 'héeling—tráveling,' 'confúcion—mansión,' is traced carefully through the sixteenth century, though with no definite conclusion regarding its *raison d'être*. In some of the many instances cited it is evidently merely an eye-rime, but in others it seems possible to regard it as a perfect rime, due to the tendency to introduce hexameter lines for intentional effect in a pentameter setting.

More general questions are attacked in "Shakespeare's Pathos," by J. F. A. Pyre, "Some Principles of Shakespeare Staging," by T. H. Dickinson, and "The Function of the Songs in Shakespeare's Plays," by J. R. Moore. In the light of what is now inferred concerning the use of song in plays acted by the boys' companies, one feels that Mr. Moore goes beyond his critical right in his reiterated statement "that until 1600 there was (outside Shakespeare) little or no functional use of the song, in the plays that have come down to us"; that "it was Shakespeare's unique achievement to employ the interspersed lyrics, hitherto superfluous or altogether irrelevant in Elizabethan drama, to advance the action . . ."; and that "Shakespeare was virtually the first Elizabethan dramatist to make systematic employment of the song for dramatic purposes." Among the most interesting papers are Professor Beatty's on the use of sonnets and sonnet-like passages in the plays written before 1609 and a new treatment of "The Collaboration of Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger," by Louis Wann.

T. B.

Unpublished letters of Lord Byron, often of considerable interest, continue to turn up. Quaritch's Catalogue for June, 1916 (No. 344) offers one, dated December 12, 1821, that completes the record of an incident in the life at Pisa. It will be remembered that, the rumor—false, as it later appeared—having reached them that at Lucca a priest had been condemned to death for sacrilege, Byron and Shelley exerted themselves to obtain a commutation of the penalty. Byron appealed to John Taafe, as one with whom the authorities were acquainted, to go to Lucca to see what could be done. "I will and would do anything," he writes, "either by money or guarantee or otherwise." Taafe's reply, consenting to go, was sent by Byron to Moore and may be found in Moore's *Life of Byron* and in Prothero's edition of the *Letters and Journals* (v, 495 f.). It is Byron's appeal to Taafe, apparently the only letter extant to this correspondent that is now for sale. The portion quoted, besides the sentence above, helps to make clear the attitude of Byron towards the Italian authorities: "As to the Government I appeal to the whole of my conduct since I came here to prove whether I med-

dle or make with their politics—I defy them to misinterpret my motive—and as to leaving their states—I am a Citizen of the World—content where I am now—but able to find a country elsewhere."

S. C. C.

The primary value and interest of Professor C. E. Vaughan's edition of *The Political Writings of Rousseau* (Cambridge, The University Press, 1915, 2 vols.) lie in a different field from that of letters, but from the point of view of literature it requires mention. The collection includes all the obvious things and in addition thereto passages from *Émile* and from Rousseau's Correspondence that shed light on his political theories. The exclusion of the *Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts* is to be regretted. Vaughan's explanation of this is that it "has no more than an indirect bearing upon political action." Yet its close association with the second Discourse was a reason for its inclusion; and in the two Responses there is more than a germ of the political theory of the *Discours sur l'Inégalité*. About twenty-five pages of new matter, chiefly from the MSS. at Neuchatel and for the most part mere variants and first drafts of published works, are published. Of this material by far the most important, though its connection with Rousseau's political writings is not obvious, is the group of autobiographical fragments gathered together in an Appendix. It is not clear why some of these, already published by Grandjean, Schinz, and other scholars, are reprinted here. The editor has subjected his text throughout to the most minute examination in the effort to establish a definitive edition. In this field his finest achievement is his rearrangement of the important fragment, "L'État de Guerre," the sheets of the MS. of which were found to be out of order. As thus rearranged the course of Rousseau's argument seems considerably more logical than as it develops in the editions of Dreyfus-Brisac and Windenberger. The antiquities of the subject have necessarily been subordinated to the study of the content of the writings; but one regrets the absence of an adequate bibliography. For the masterly introduction, though one may feel that it is at times too generous to Rousseau, there can only be praise. It is occupied with the main theme of differentiating and contrasting the two intertwining but never wholly joined strands in Rousseau's political philosophy: the abstract individualism inherited from Locke and the practical collectivism derived from Montesquieu. This is not the place to examine this introduction at length. Nor is it possible to do more than note the fact that these volumes are destined to have an important part in that rehabilitation of Rousseau in English political thought which, beginning with Bosanquet's studies nearly twenty years ago, has by no means yet run its course. An "Epilogue," written since the beginning of the War, contrasts the Roussellian and Fichtean idea of the State with no

attempt to conceal the application of the contrast to modern Germany. An Appendix contains part of a lecture, of a rather "popular" character a little out of place in these volumes, on "Rousseau and his enemies" in which the results of Mrs. Macdonald's researches, published a decade ago and familiar to all students, are presented and with certain reservations adopted. The proof-reading—a matter of difficulty in these times and when dealing with a foreign language—seems, after several tests, to be excellent; the appearance of the volumes is altogether admirable.

S. C. C.

Oskar Walzel hat eben einen Vortrag über *Die künstlerische Form des Dichtwerks* (Berlin, E. S. Mittler & Sohn, 1916) veröffentlicht und damit ein Problem ausführlicher erörtert, dem er letzthin schon öfter nachgegangen ist. In der Schrift *Leben und Dichten* (1912 bei H. Haessel, Leipzig, erschienen) versuchte er dem Rätsel des lyrischen Schaffens beizukommen, und zwar hauptsächlich an der Hand der Lyrik von Modernsten wie Hofmannsthal, George, Rilke.—Die Jahrhundertbetrachtung *Richard Wagner in seiner Zeit* (München, Georg Müller und Rentsch, 1913), eins der allerbedeutendsten Bücher anlässlich Wagners hundertstem Geburtstag und eine der geistvollsten und anregendsten Studien Walzels, geht (S. 49 ff.) sehr feinsinnig auf das Problem der Form in der Literatur und Musik ein. Von hier aus versteht man Walzels Programmschrift von 1916 erst richtig. Immer gilt es ihm in der einen oder anderen Art: "die künstlerische Form von Dichtungen mit dem Werkzeug zu packen, das von Musik und bildender Kunst geliefert wird,"—also kein "vages Ästhetisieren," sondern der Versuch einer wissenschaftlichen Ergründung der dichterischen Architektonik und Ornamentik, und zwar diesmal hauptsächlich in der Epop von Jean Paul, Freytag, Fontane, Clara Viebig, und besonders von Ricarda Huch. Wir erhalten auf etwa 40 Seiten eine kurze Zusammenfassung verschiedener Einzelstudien Walzels, die zum Schluss seiner Schrift für den weiteren Forschenden aufgezählt werden. Oskar Walzel fusst einerseits auf den Werken Diltheys und andererseits auf den rhythmischen-melodischen Studien von Sievers, Saran, Carl Steinweg, und Rutz, doch sind hier wie bei seinen anderen Schriften, z. B. über die Romantik, Ibsen, Hebbel, Richard Wagner, die tiefe philosophische Durchdringung und der feine ästhetische Sinn ganz sein eigen. Ich kann denn auch diese wie alle anderen Schriften Walzels, die voll von wertvollen Anregungen und Anleitungen sind, nicht besser empfehlen als mit Walzels eigenen Worten: "Mein Ziel ist Stärkung des künstlerischen Gefühls bei den Aufnehmenden, Erziehung zu vertieftem Kunstverständnis, ist vor allem aber auch Selbstbesinnung bei der Betrachtung dichterischer Kunstwerke."

F. S.

